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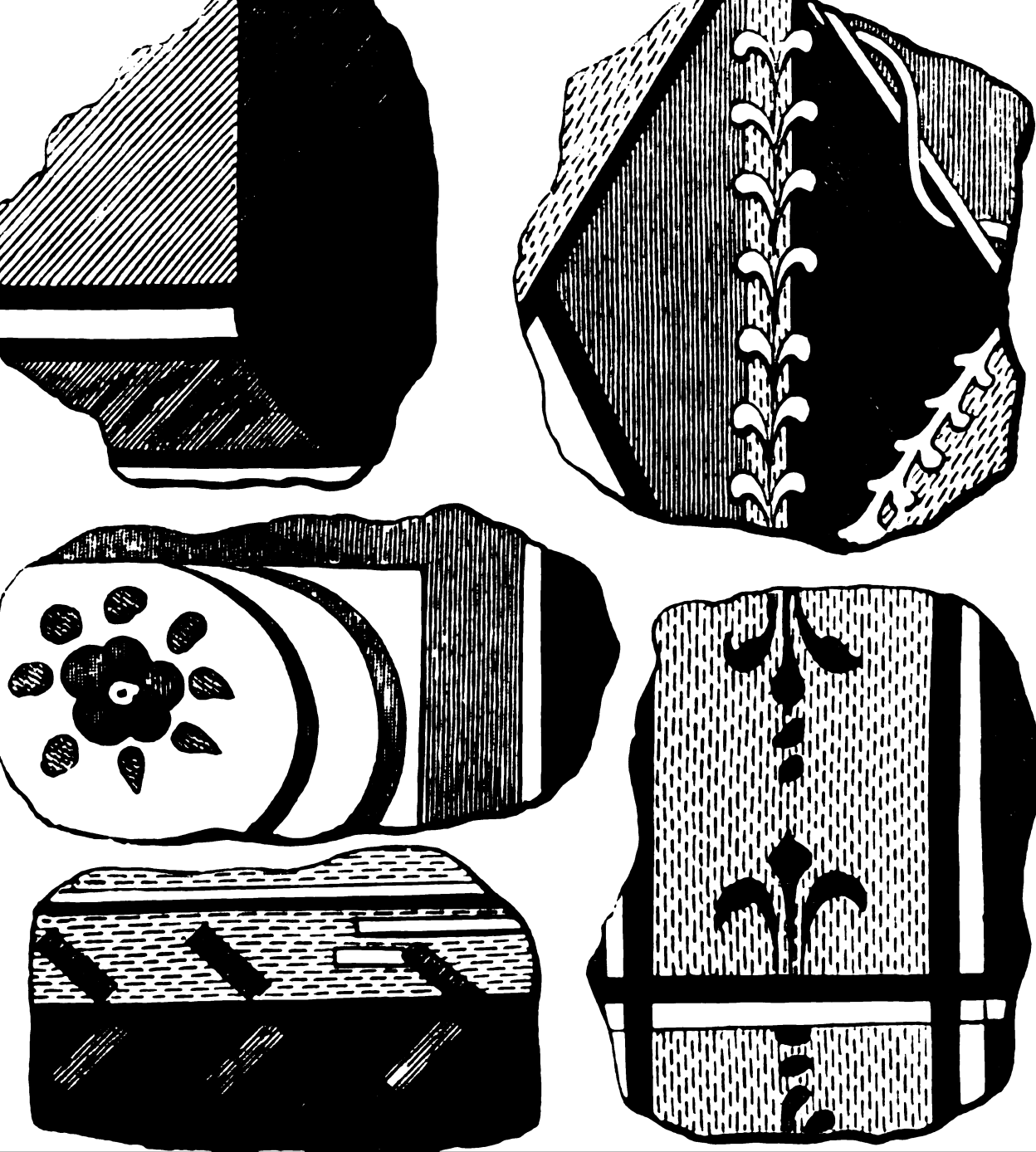
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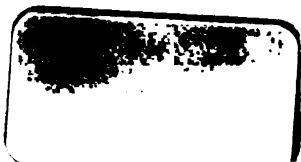


The antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lynne

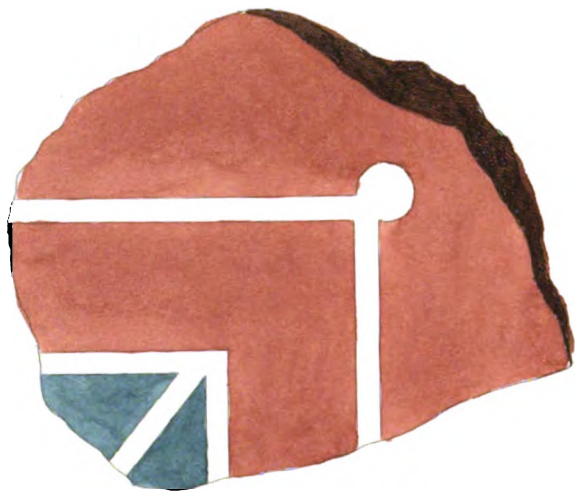
Charles Roach Smith

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Langh. hood?
Kent.
4-14.



11.



Drawn & Engraved by F. W. Nicholls, F. S. A.

ROMAN MURAL PAINTINGS, found at RICHBOROUGH.

THE
Antiquities
OF
RICHBOROUGH, RECVLVER,
AND
LYMNE,
IN KENT.



BY
CHARLES ROACH SMITH, F.S.A.

ILLUSTRATED BY
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LONDON :
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TO
WILLIAM HENRY ROLFE, ESQ.
OF SANDWICH,
AS A TRIBUTE OF ESTEEM FOR HIS ZEAL IN INVESTIGATING AND
PRESERVING THE ANTIQUITIES OF HIS NEIGHBOURHOOD
AND NATIVE COUNTY,
AS WELL AS FOR THE LIBERALITY WITH WHICH HE AFFORDS ACCESS
TO HIS COLLECTIONS, AND ENCOURAGES THE RESEARCHES
OF OTHERS,
THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED,
WITH THE BEST WISHES OF HIS SINCERE FRIENDS,
CHARLES ROACH SMITH,
FREDERICK W. FAIRHOLT.

London,
July 1, 1850.

PREFACE.

THE volume before the reader, although of no great dimensions, has outgrown all resemblance to the original conception. I had long regretted that collections of local antiquities, the most valuable perhaps of all, on account of their being well authenticated, should, in the common course of events, become so frequently dispersed and lost without being even imperfectly recorded ; and having enjoyed free access to the collections of Mr. Rolfe, with whose interesting researches, for many years past, I have been, to a certain degree, associated, my attention was the more frequently directed to the contents of his museum, and to the great benefits that would be conferred on the science of antiquity, by the publication of a catalogue with copious illustrations and brief descriptions. It was the expression of a feeling of this kind to my friend Mr. Fairholt, that secured for me his cooperation in the present

undertaking, which we have carried through entirely at our own risk.

It was my first idea merely to make Mr. Rolfe's collection the basis of a volume, in connexion with Richborough, and perhaps, at the same time, to say a few words on the remains of antiquity at other places occupying the sites of Roman stations in the county of Kent. Among these I had hoped to include the unique and interesting Pharos at Dover ; but although the exterior of that structure is exposed to the pitiless propensities of curiosity-hunters, its interior, within the last few years, has been blocked up by an order from the Ordnance Department, so that its peculiar architectural features can no longer be inspected. The site of the castrum at Lymne at that time presented but little apparent interest; and my object in including it in the title of our book, was to direct attention to its remains, with a remote hope that some wealthy landowner of the neighbourhood, or some owner of the land upon which the Roman ruins stand, might be moved to raise the soil, and see what lay beneath. I should probably have waited long enough, had not Mr. James Elliott, of Dymchurch, cooperated with me, and had we not been supported by a list of subscribers to aid in defraying the expenses of

the excavations,—most of whom, it may be remarked, are altogether strangers, and in no way connected with the county. In consequence of the incipient researches thus made at Lymne, the publication of the volume has been delayed beyond the intended period; but, at the same time, they have enabled us to give some information on points which previously were unknown.

To several friends we are indebted for kind services in connexion with the publication of our volume. A friendship with Mr. Thomas Wright, now of several years' standing, has placed that gentleman's diversified acquirements in literature and general archæology at all times at my command; and on the present, as on other occasions, I have experienced the advantage of consulting his learning and sound judgment, united, as they are, to untiring liberality in communicating them.

To Mr. Charles Sandys, of Canterbury, who kindly communicated his copies and translations of some of the early charters relating to Reculver.

To Mr. Thomas Thurston we are under obligations for the plan of the castrum at Lymne, prepared by him expressly for this work.

To the Rev. Beale Poste our thanks are also due, for

having placed at our disposal an unengraved plan of the castrum, made by himself previous to the excavations, as well as extracts from a work he is now engaged in preparing for the press, on the military antiquities of the county of Kent.

To the Council of the British Archæological Association, for the loan of several wood-cuts, we also return our grateful acknowledgments.

INTRODUCTION.

O famous Kent !

What county hath this isle that can compare with thee ?
That hath within thyself as much as thou canst wish :
Thy rabbits, venison, fruits, thy sorts of fowl and fish ;
As what with strength comports, thy hay, thy corn, thy wood,—
Nor anything doth want, that anywhere is good.

DRAYTON'S POLY-OLBION.

Few parts of England have engaged the attention of the historian and topographer to such an extent, as the county of Kent. Proximity to the metropolis, and facilities of intercourse, have contributed, in connexion with the varied attractions of nature, to secure for its towns and watering-places a popular predilection; while contiguity to France renders its shores the preferable continental medium of communication with the United Kingdom, and makes them known to visitors from almost all parts of the globe. The fertility of the county, and its extraordinary diversity of scenery, justify the encomium of the poet and its old prescriptive right to the title of "the garden of England". On higher grounds the historical inquirer regards, with peculiar interest, the land of Kent. It was the grand scene of the earliest recorded, and of the most important,

b

events in the annals of our country, and of some of those striking occurrences which, tainted with fable, or based upon the suspicious foundation of popular tradition, have left as strong an impression on the national mind as the authenticated facts which sober history claims as her own. It was in Kent the Roman conqueror landed his legions, and led the way to the subjugation of the entire island, and to its constitution as a province of the Roman empire. When this mighty power had become overthrown, our eyes are again directed to Kent as the field of another invasion, which threw the fate of the province into the hands of a very different race, and introduced the germs of most of the laws and institutions under which we live and flourish. Here the first Anglo-Saxon kingdom was established, and here the standard of Christianity was first raised in Britain by Augustine. Surrounded by associations such as these, who can view unmoved the shores and fields which witnessed the transaction of events so momentous? Who, save the ignorant and the apathetic, can behold without emotion the venerable monuments from times in which were involved the destinies of kingdoms, empires, and ages, down to the ephemeral and subordinate interests of the present generation moving across the scene? Contemporary monuments illustrative of those remote times yet remain, despite the barbarism of race after race, through long centuries, who had as little reverence for the past as care for the future. The Roman Pharos yet crowns the heights of Dover; and though battered by the storms of ages, and exposed to the daily

depredations of the idle and thoughtless,¹ maintains its ground, the finest architectural relic of the place,—a trophy of peace and conservation amidst the deadly contrivances of the craft of war. Three of the great Roman military stations are preserved, majestic even in ruins, and alike monuments of the revolutions of nations, and landmarks of the alternate changes to which ocean and land have been subjected :

——“*Sic toties versa es, Fortuna locorum.
Vidi ego, quod fuerat quondam solidissima tellus,
Esse fretum. Vidi factas ex æquore terras.*”²

More numerous are the humbler, but not less interesting, remains which illustrate the more settled period of the Roman domination, such as those of villas and farmhouses, which are yearly brought to light by the spade or the plough. In the neighbourhoods of the ancient towns, and upon the downs, are found the burial-places of the Romans and Saxons, from which have been collected valuable materials in aid of the obscure and defective history of the period immediately preceding the departure of the Romans to the settlement of the Saxons. It is in the contemplation of scenes and objects such as these, so pregnant with associations which direct the mind to the early history of the land we live in, that the county of Kent owes its most fascinating charms. The soil is classic ground, and we

¹ Dr. Stukeley informs us that the lead covering of the Pharos was stripped off by order of the Ordnance Office, “under pretext of savingness”!

² Ovid. Met., lib. xv, l. 261.

look upon it with feelings akin to those which animate us when we visit some patrimonial site and our recollections are awakened at every step to some object or event connected with our personal ancestry.

The visit of Julius Cæsar—it cannot be called a conquest—was almost confined to Kent; and he did little more than point out to his countrymen the fertility of Britain, and gratify, by the invasion, his own ambition. He left it without establishing any garrison or settlement; and it is very doubtful whether the tribute he imposed upon the British princes was ever paid. The civil wars followed, and Britain was, for a long period, overlooked and forgotten; or if, under Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, an intercourse can be supposed, it must have been uncertain, and the submission of the petty princes in Britain only voluntary, and dictated, perhaps, in the vicissitudes of warfare among themselves, as a matter of temporary policy. It was Claudius who made a permanent conquest of Britain, and retained possession; he was, as Tacitus expresses it, the “auctor operis”. It was under this prince and his successors that the Romans maintained military possession of the island, and, gradually extending their conquests, reduced it to a province of the empire. The history of Britain during the four hundred years it remained under the Roman domination is very incomplete and unsatisfactory; and there occur long and frequent intervals of almost profound silence, unbroken by written records, or by the information we sometimes glean from coins and inscriptions. We are presented, certainly, with

some bold and masterly sketches by the earlier historians, but the pictures they have drawn are not finished; and though they enable us here and there to discern events, yet those details which are so essential to a correct comprehension of causes and motives, are either altogether wanting, or have to be elaborated from contemporary remains often imperfect or contradictory. And yet we gather information enough from written records and from monuments, to be assured that the period of Roman sway was one of continued activity; and we are astonished at witnessing, even at the present day, after fourteen hundred years have passed away, vestiges of a people who penetrated into every corner of the conquered country; who subdued not merely the warlike inhabitants, but also an uncongenial climate, and those defences which nature had erected,—the barricades of forests, swamps, morasses, and the cold and inhospitable hilly regions of the north. We know little of the consecutive order of events that attended this great achievement; and when the swords of the invaders had cleared the way for peace, we learn little, if anything, from historians, of the internal policy by which the victors maintained their conquest, and, in spite of the love of liberty which characterized the Britons, so effectually merged the national character into that of the Roman, that we lose sight of the Britons almost entirely, until the final withdrawal of the Roman soldiers, about the middle of the fifth century. When we reflect on the vigorous resistance made by the Britons to the Romans, and the formidable insurrections which they raised against the foreign yoke,

we cannot but admire the perseverance with which the conquerors of the world succeeded, against such inauspicious circumstances, in so effectually breaking down the nationality of the country, and implanting their own mode of government, their own religion and habits. The monuments which still remain show how completely Britain was Romanized: their roads ramifying into almost every corner of the country; their towns and cities traced, in ruin, beneath so many of those now the chief of England, or, in other instances, buried beneath corn-fields; their great military stations, many of whose walls are yet remaining to astonish us, as they will future generations, by their vastness and solidity; and, moreover, their villas, farm-houses, and cottages, whose sites the antiquary can still identify, covering the land far and near, and demonstrating that peace and agriculture had succeeded, in undisturbed dominion, to the turmoils of war. Whoever has paid attention to the extensive remains of Roman dwelling-houses which have been, from accidental circumstances, brought to light in unsuspected localities throughout England, must be struck with the fact, that the country must have been largely populated, and the land tilled to an extent far greater than is generally supposed, during the Roman occupation.

Kent, and the southern parts of Britain in particular, seem to have been but little disturbed by internal commotion or rebellion. It is in the north and west we find the legions permanently quartered; the north was chiefly the seat of war in the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and

Severus ; and there have been discovered the greater part of the monumental inscriptions which contribute so largely to make up the amount of information we possess during a long period of time. The entire absence, in Kent, of inscriptions recording military transactions, or the presence of legions or their divisions, is perhaps the most conclusive evidence of the tranquillity of this part of Britain, when other parts were disturbed. At a later time, however, circumstances changed, and we find the great stations on the coast of Kent, and others to the east and to the south, garrisoned by soldiers drawn from the west and north of Britain and from Belgic Gaul, to defend the province against the incursions of the Franks and Saxons.

The volume now offered to the public, will, it is hoped, be acceptable to the general as well as to the local antiquary and historian ; and while its pages may afford some novel contributions to the materials already collected towards the early history of our country, they may also contribute to assist the visitor in forming a more correct judgment on the interesting localities and their remains, which form the subject-matter, and lead the general reader to perceive the wholesome and elevating tendency of antiquarian researches.

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RICHBOROUGH.

BEFORE we proceed to the immediate object of our book,—the examination of the remains of antiquity which are actually extant at Richborough, or which have been discovered there,—it will be desirable to allude to the external evidence of the antiquity and importance of the place, as afforded by ancient writers. The district, or coast, of Cantium, which comprised Richborough and its port or haven, is more frequently noticed than any other part of Britain; and the reasons for this are obvious. It was the nearest and best channel for the continental trade which was carried on before the invasion of Julius Cæsar, and to which he alludes in his *Commentaries*; and its proximity to Gaul and Germany caused it to be selected as the port, in after times, for military, commercial, and social intercourse: and hence, by earlier writers, the whole district is spoken of as the Rutupine coast or shore. But when, in later times, the great fortress is alluded to, the term *Rutupiæ*, or *Rutupium*, is used,—doubtless adopted from the generic appellation. It is, perhaps, derived from the Celtic. Nennius says, Thanet was called, by the Britons, *Ruym*. Battely quotes the opinion of the anonymous writer of a manuscript in the Cotton library,¹ who con-

¹ *Vespasian*, A v. This manuscript is still preserved in the British Museum: it is a volume of the notes and collections of William Lambarde, the Kentish antiquary.

ceives that "the Rutupian coast is so called, either from *Rupes* (a rock), or from the *Ruteri*, a people of Gaul, now Boulogne". The Ruteni, mentioned by Cæsar and Pliny, occupied the district now called *Le Roergue*: part was in the Roman province, and part in Celtic Gaul. As we find the Gauls, in their immigrations into Britain, often distinguished the new settlements by the name of their native countries, the application of the custom might be allowed in this instance, were there a little closer analogy between the words *Ruteni* and *Rutupiæ*. Malebranche, writing on the Rutheni, observes, "all that part of the coast which lies between Calais and Dunkirk, our seamen now call Ruthen. Add to this, that the sea-coast of Kent was called *Rutupiæ*, and the neighbouring inhabitants, *Rutupi*; which Ruthen, they say, means a "rotten shore".¹ Camden derives it from the British words, *Rhyd-tufeth*, or "sandy bottoms". Orosius² and Bede call it *Rutubi*, or *Rutubi portus*: a name applied, by Ordericus Vitalis, to a harbour in Gaul, in a curious story which, he says, was taken from the ancient Roman historians; but which is evidently one of that numerous class of legendary fictions, in which the slightest historical truth is perverted and diluted with inventions and fables. It is, however, not without interest in connexion with the subject under consideration. Rutubus, Ordericus tells us, was a powerful and cruel tyrant, and held a fortress, believed to be impregnable, on a hill near the Seine; by which he kept in subjection the adjacent country, and the vessels that navigated the neighbouring river. Cæsar, hearing

¹ De Morinis, lib. ii, cap. 1.

² A meridie Gallias habet, cujus proximum litus transmeatibus civitas aperit, quæ dicitur Rhutubi portus: unde haud procul a Morinis in austro positos Menapios Batavosque prospecta.—Lib. i, cap. ii.

of this, hastened thither with his army, and stormed the fort, which was called *Rutubi Portus*. The vestiges and ruins of this town, he adds, are still sufficiently distinct to attract the attention of the countrymen.¹ Pliny mentions a *Portus Rutubis* in Africa.

While thus the etymology of *Rutupiæ* must remain, with many other etymological inquiries, a fluctuating and open question, we proceed to examine the more important historical references to the haven and *castrum*.

Tacitus, in his *Life of Agricola*, states, that the Roman fleet entered the *Trutulensian*² harbour; by which, it is very evident, he meant the *Rutupine*,—whether, or not, we attach any weight to the opinion of those who suggest that the haven of Richborough might have been so named from *truta* (a trout), in consequence of the abundance of that fish in the river which flowed into the harbour: a conjecture so far supported by the fact, that the trout of the Stour are, to this day, abundant, and much prized for their size and flavour.

The poet Lucan, who was anterior to Tacitus, draws, from the stormy *Rutupine* shore, a simile in his poem, the *Pharsalia*:

“Prima quidem surgens operum structura fefellit
Pompeium: veluti mediæ qui tutus in arvis
Sicanie rabidum nescit latrare Pelorum:

¹ Interea *Rutubus* potens sævusque tyrannus inexpugnabile, ut putabatur, municipium super montem juxta Sequanam servabat, per quod circumjacentem provinciam, navesque per proximum flumen meantes coercebat. Quod audiens Cæsar, illuc cum exercitu festinavit, et castellum quod *Rutubi Portus* appellabatur, expugnavit. Cujus oppidi specimen et ruinas solers indigena perspicuè cognoscit.—*Duchêne's Hist. Norman. Script. Antiq.* p. 864.

² Et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trutulensem portum tenuit, unde proximo latere Britannie lecto omnis redieret.—Cap. xxxviii.

Aut vaga cum Thetys Rutupinaque litora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos."

Pharsal. lib. vi, l. 64.

"Nor yet, while Cæsar his first labours try'd,
The warlike toil by Pompey was descry'd.
So, in mid Sicily's delightful plain,
Safe from the horrid sound, the happy swain
Dreads not loud Scylla breaking o'er the main :
So Northern Britons never hear the roar
Of seas that break on the far Cantian shore."

Rowe.

The fearful aspect of the ocean along the Kentish coast, in the frequently tempestuous weather of our climate, is well known; and its disastrous consequences were, doubtless, often experienced by the Roman mariners: as, for instance, in the sudden tempest which destroyed upwards of forty of Cæsar's ships. Lucan, a native of Spain, had probably been an eye-witness of the turbulent billows lashing the Rutupine shore. It may also have been the impression formed from the first sight of the cliffs of the Kentish coast, which suggested the association of rocks with the interesting personification of Britain on the Roman coins.¹

It is under a different, and more benign, aspect, that we find the Rutupine coast next mentioned. It occurs in the story of the consultation of the Roman senators, at the court of Domitian, about a turbot. The satirist Juvenal, ridiculing the abject servility of the patricians towards the imperial tyrant of the day, bestows especial consideration on one Montanus,—a type of court sycophants; who recommended that a large dish should be purposely made, to hold, uncut, the gigantic fish; and that, the emperor

¹ See *Akerman's Coins of the Romans relating to Britain.*

approving, a company of potters should in future attend the camp, to provide against a similar exigency. Montanus, the poet observes, had long been a partaker in the luxury of court living, and was an adept in the pleasures of eating. No one, in such matters, was more scientific. At the first taste, he could tell whether an oyster had been bred in the Circæan harbour, or by the Lucrine rocks, or was dredged up from the Rutupine sea; and at a glance would tell from what shore a crab came:—

— “Nulli major fuit usus edendi
Tempestate mea. Circeis nata forent an
Lucrinum ad saxum, *Rutupinove edita fundo*,
Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu;
Et semel adspecti littus dicebat echini.”

Sat. iv, l. 139.

An extensive oyster-fishery is carried on, at the present day, at Whitstable, and along the line of coast at Reculver and Margate. In the time of the Romans, this trade, which furnished so choice a luxury to the Roman market, was also supplied from sources nearer Richborough; and recent discoveries have shown alike the literal application of the words of Juvenal, and the change that has taken place in this district since his days. In digging in the marshes, at the depth of from four to six feet, beds of oysters are often brought to light. The shells are quite perfect and hard, precisely resembling those which have been found, in great quantities, in and around the *castrum*, where they were mixed with fragments of pottery and bones, the refuse of the table. So late as last year, in digging clay for bricks, on the left of the road from Sandwich to Richborough, a stratum of these shells was found. Pliny testifies to the esteem in which the British oysters were held at Rome. That they must have been universally used by the

Romans in Britain as a common article of food, is proved by the heaps of shells found almost on every site where the remains of Roman buildings are discovered.

Ammianus Marcellinus, in his history of Constantius and Julian, relates, that Lupicinus, who had been sent by Julian to repel the Picts and Scots, crossed from Boulogne to Rutupiae; and that, in the time of Valentinian and Valens, Theodosius entered Britain by the same route, to expel the Saxons. These narratives are not merely interesting as shewing the usual course taken by the Romans in crossing the channel, they are important for the information they convey on the state of Britain at that eventful period.

The historian states, that in the tenth consulship of Constantius and the third of Julian, by the incursions of the Picts and Scots,—savage nations,—the tranquillity of the province was broken, the places bordering upon the frontiers laid waste, and to past calamities was added the fear of imminent repetitions of the evils. Julian was passing the winter in Paris, distracted with conflicting cares and inquietudes. He feared to cross the sea as Constans had done before him, lest, by thus leaving Gaul without a ruler, he should incite the Alemanni to pillage and war. He therefore resolved, in order to set matters right, to send Lupicinus, at that time marshall of the army,—a good soldier, and skilled in strategy, but at the same time, arrogant and overbearing, and fond of show; so that people were doubtful whether he were swayed more by avarice or by cruelty. Lupicinus therefore proceeded on his expedition, in the depth of winter, with the auxiliary light-armed troops (namely, the Heruli and Batavi, and two companies of the Mœsici), and arrived at Boulogne. There he collected a fleet; and, having embarked his troops, set sail with the first favourable

wind, arrived at Rutupiae (a station on the opposite coast), and marched to Londinium, that from thence he might better regulate his movements, and with more speed make preparation for the campaign :—

“*Consulatu vero Constantii decies, terque Juliani, in Britannis cum Scotorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursu, rupta quiete, conducta loca limitibus vicina vastarentur, et implicaret formido provincias præteritarum cladum congerie fessas, hyemem agens apud Parisios Cæsar, distractusque in solitudines varias, verebatur ire subsidio transmarinis (ut retulimus ante fecisse Constantem), ne rectore vacuas relinqueret Gallias, Alemannis ad sævitiam etiam tum incitatis et bella. Mittere igitur ad hæc loca ad rationes componendas Lupicinum placuit, ea tempestate magistrum armorum, bellicosum sane, et castrensis rei peritum, sed supercilia erigentem ut cornua, et de tragico, quod aiunt, cothurno strepentem: super quo diu ambigebatur, avarus esset potius, an crudelis. Moto ergo velitari auxilio, Herulis scilicet et Batavis, numerisque Mœsiacorum duobus, adulta hyeme dux antedictus Bononiam venit; quæsitisque navigiis, et omni imposito milite, observato flatu secundo ventorum, ad Rutupias sitas ex adverso defertur, petitque Lundinium: ut exinde suscepto pro rei qualitate consilio, festinaret ocius ad procinctum.*”—Lib. xx.

The same historian relates that, in the time of Valentinian and Valens, Theodosius (father of the emperor of the same name) embarked from Boulogne, and landed at Rutupiae, to quell a still more formidable outbreak of the Picts and Scots, coupled with the descents of the Saxons and Franks on the southern coast. These terrible tribes, whose incursions into the fertile and rich fields of Britain had taught them how to estimate their own power, and the weak government of the distracted province, had become more and more daring and formidable. We cannot trace the footsteps of Lupicinus and his veteran bands of the Heruli and Batavi; but Ammianus, in a subsequent chapter, states that Constantius, jealous of the military successes and growing renown of Julian, recalled

the Heruli and Batavi, together with Lupicinus, who as yet was not known for certain to have passed over into Britain; and ordered them, together with other auxiliary troops in Gaul, to march to the East, to the Parthian war,—a measure which led to the election of Julian as *Augustus*; the German and Gaulish soldiers refusing to leave the still threatened scene of many triumphs, and their homes and families, for the inglorious and dangerous fate that menaced them in an eastern war. Their stay, on this occasion, in Britain, could have been but brief; and the mode of warfare adopted by their barbarian opponents probably prevented the chance of a decisive engagement, and procured for the province, as appeared by the result, only a temporary relief.

The advent of Theodosius is thus described. When he had come to Bononia, which is separated from the opposite coast by a narrow channel,—where the sea is subject to transitions from violent tempests and tides, to the smoothest calms and safe navigation,—he crossed over, and arrived at Rutupiaë, a safe and quiet station opposite. When the Batavi, Heruli, Jovii, and Victores, tried and valiant troops, who followed immediately after, had joined him, he then took the field, and marched towards Lundinium, an ancient town, afterwards named Augusta. Having divided his army into several companies, by different roads, he surprised the enemies' forces laying waste the country, and laden with spoil; and having quickly routed those who were carrying off prisoners and cattle, he stripped them of the spoil which the wretched tributaries had lost. In the end, having restored it all, save a small portion distributed among the wearied soldiers, he entered Lundinium,—plunged in difficulties, but suddenly saved,—with much rejoicing, as in a kind of triumph :—

“Cum venisset ad Bononiæ littus, quod à spatio controverso terrarum angustii reciproci distinguitur maris, attolli horrendis æstibus adsueti, rursusque sine ulla navigantium noxa in speciem complanari camporum, exinde transmeato lentius freto defertur Rutupias, stationem ex adverso tranquillam”, etc.—Lib. xxvii.

The circumstances attending the coming of the Emperor Constans, alluded to by Ammianus, were probably detailed at considerable length in one of those books which unfortunately have not descended to us; but Julius Firmicus Maternus, in a religious address to Constantius and Constans, celebrates the crossing of the channel by the latter prince, in the winter season,¹ and conquering the inauspicious elements. This event, which took place A.D. 342-3, is recorded by a medallion of Constans, in brass, inscribed, BONONIA . OCEANEN. (*Bononia on the ocean.*) It bears a representation of the emperor, armed with spear and buckler, standing upon the deck of a galley with rowers; behind him are two military standards, and a Victory, upon the prow, holds a wreath and palm branch; in the water, is a figure swimming; and in the back-ground a light-house or tower. The medals, on which Constans bears the titles of *Debellator Gentium Barbararum*, *Triumphator Gentium Barbararum*, and others of like significance, must refer to his conquests over the Franks and Scots.

Richborough and the Rutupine coast are thrice alluded to by the poet Ausonius; who, whether we regard his easy and unlaboured style, his depth of feeling, the sweetness of his verse, or the propriety and grace of his composition, is one of the best poets of

¹ Hyeme (quod nec factum est aliquando, nec fiet) tumentes, ac sævientes undas calcastis oceani sub remis vestris. Incogniti jam nobis pene maris unda contremuit, et insperatam imperatoris faciem Britannus expavit.—*De Errore Profanarum Religionum*, p. 464; edit. Gronovii, 1709.

the Lower empire, and honoured by us for the many beautiful sketches he has left of home scenery, and of events and persons connected with our country. Who that has sailed down the Moselle, has not been struck with the fidelity and force with which the poet has pictured the wonderful attractions of the scenery and the rural pastimes and operations of those who inhabit its banks? For the lapse of time has apparently but little changed the aspect of the country; and the daily occupations and customs of the peasants are in many respects so identical, that we see them as the poet saw them, and wonder if fifteen hundred years have indeed passed away. Ausonius, in the *Parentalia*, devotes an elegy to the memory of his uncles, Claudius Contentus and Julius Calippio, the former of whom, he tells us, was buried in the Rutupine land:

“ Et patruos elegeia meos reminiscere cantu:
 Contentum, *tellus quem Rutupina tegit*;
 Magna cui et variae quæsitæ pecunia sortis,
 Hæredis nullo nomine tuta perit.
 Raptus enim lætis et adhuc florentibus annis,
 Trans mare et ignaris fratribus oppetiit.
 Julius in longam produxit fata senectam,
 Affectus damnis innumerabilibus;
 Qui comis, blandusque, et mensa commodus uncta,
 Hæredes solo nomine nos habuit.
 Ambo pii, vultu similes, joca seria mixti,
 Ævi fortunam non habuere parem;
 Discreti quanquam tumulis et honore jacetis,
 Commune hoc verbi munus habete, vale.”

And let my mournful song remember also my uncles. Contentus, interred beneath the Rutupine ground, whose riches, gained in various mercantile pursuits, no heir to his name inherits. He died beyond the sea, away from and unknown to his brothers, in the very flower of life. Julius, on the contrary, departed in a ripe old age, having endured numberless misfortunes; courteous,

affable, and hospitable, he left us his heirs in name only. Both were pious, similar in features, by turns grave and gay; but their lot in life was unlike. Although disunited in your graves and obsequies, share together this last offering—farewell.

Another elegy, in which Ausonius mentions the Rutupine territory, is inscribed to Flavius Sanctus, husband of Pudentilla, the sister of Selina the wife of Ausonius :

“ Qui joca lætitiæque colis, qui tristia damnas,
 Nec metuis quenquam, nec metuendus agis ;
 Qui nullum insidiis captas, nec lite lacessis,
 Sed justam et clemens vitam agis, et sapiens ;
 Tranquillos Manes, supremæque mitia sancti
 Ore pio, et verbis advenerare bonis :
 Militiam nullo qui turbine sedulus egit ;
Preside lætatus quo Rutupinus ager.
 Octoginta annos cujus tranquilla senectus
 Nullo mutavit deteriore die.
 Ergo precare favens, ut qualia tempora vitæ,
 Talia et ad Manes otia Sanctus agat.”

You who make mirth and joy the chief object of existence; who hate sorrow, and pass through life neither fearing nor feared; who deceive not by cunning, nor worry people with strife, but act justly, temperately, and wisely,—assist at the last quiet obsequies of Sanctus, and offer to his tranquil spirit, with pious lips, the valedictory prayer. He performed diligently the duties of a soldier, during a time of peace; and the Rutupine land enjoyed happiness under his governance. At eighty years he died in a placid old age, all his days having been alike serene and quiet. Therefore pray that the soul of Sanctus may enjoy the same peace in the shades, as upon earth.

It is probable that Sanctus was præsidial governor of Britannia Prima, in which the Rutupine tract of land lay, rather than commander of either of the garrisons at Regulbium or Rutupinæ; but it seems evident that he resided at the latter place.

The same poet, in a series of elegies called *Clare Urbes*, terms

Magnus Maximus the "Rutupine robber"; from which expression, we may infer that this "usurper", as he is usually styled, was, during his command in Britain, in some way especially connected with the Rutupine coast. At this period, as had been the case at intervals for a long time previous, the Roman forces had been a good deal drawn from the interior of the province, and quartered along the great wall on the north, and in the strong *castra* on the Saxon shore. Maximus, a Spaniard by birth, had risen, by his military skill and bravery, to high distinction in Britain. He had shared, with Theodosius, the labour and glory of freeing Britain from the Picts, Scots, Saxons, and other invaders, who had overrun the province. Although it does not appear that he was ever promoted, by the imperial favour, to any high civil office or military command, it is certain he gained favour with the legions in Britain, and also with the provincials. The weak and voluptuous Gratian, surrounded by flatterers who supplied the place of earlier and better counsellors, introduced foreigners into his service, and supplanted the legitimate guards of his person by barbarian retainers. These, and other causes, the particular character of which is unknown, led to a general revolt in the western provinces; and the legions in Britain invested Maximus with the supreme command. He left Britain with a large and powerful army, and was immediately welcomed by the legions in Gaul, and saluted by the title of *Augustus*. Gratian, deserted by his troops at the approach of Maximus, fled to Lugdunum (Lyons), where he was treacherously delivered up to one of the generals of Maximus, who immediately consigned him to the common fate of the conquered great in all ages. By a compact with Theodosius, Maximus remained master of Gaul, Britain, and Spain, for five years. His

boundless ambition, however, tempting him to invade Italy, he was opposed, and defeated, by Theodosius near Aquileia, in which city he found only a brief and insecure refuge ; and there, from the hands of the soldiers of Theodosius, he met the fate of Gratian, and earned for Aquileia the honour of being ranked, by the muse of Ausonius, ninth in his roll of illustrious cities :

“ Non erat iste locus : merito tamen aucta recenti,
 Nona inter claras Aquileia cieberis urbes,
 Itala ad Illyricos objecta colonia montes,
 Mœnibus et portu celeberrima : sed magis illud
 Eminent, extremo quod te sub tempore legit,
 Solveret exacto cui sera piacula lustrò
 Maximus armigeri quondam sub nomine lixæ.
 Felix quæ tanti spectatrix læti triumphî,
 Punisti Ausonio *Rutupinum* marte *latronem*.”

This was not your place, O Aquileia ; nevertheless, for the renown you have lately gained, you shall stand ninth among illustrious cities. A Latin colony, by the side of the Illyrian mountains, you have been renowned for your walls and haven ; but you have now acquired greater honour since Maximus (formerly called the armed sutler) selected you, at the close of his life, where he might at last expiate his crimes of five years' standing. Happy are you in being the joyous spectator of such a triumph ; you have punished the Rutupine robber by the hand of the Roman warrior.

We must not estimate the character and merits of Maximus from the epithets bestowed upon him by one or two partial writers ; but by the concurrent and collected evidence of the historians, by which it is evident that he was a man of considerable military skill, free from many of the vices and weaknesses which degraded most of the rulers of the Roman empire towards the period of its decadence ; and who, but for insatiable ambition, might not have been unworthy of prolonged sway. The term “Rutupine Robber”,

is about equivalent, as here applied, to that of "arch-pirate" bestowed on Carausius. A soldier, who for five years ruled the fertile and populous provinces of Britain, Gaul, and Spain, held his diadem by quite as good a right as many of the purpled monsters who sat on the throne of Trajan and Aurelius. It was failure alone which converted an *Augustus* into a *robber*, and an emperor into a rebel. Ausonius had been the preceptor of Gratian, who had rewarded him with the highest honours and the consulate; and he saw in Maximus the indirect murderer of his pupil and patron. The poet and friend may be allowed some licence in abusing the memory of the injurer of his affections and fortunes.

The coins of Maximus give him the title of *Restitutor Reipublicæ* (Restorer of the Republic). Upon these, he is represented standing, wearing the *paludamentum*, and crowned with a wreath; he holds a labarum with a monogram of Christ, and a globe surmounted with a Victory: others, with CONCORDIA . AVGGG, allude to the peace between himself, Valentinian the younger, and Theodosius; while some, inscribed REPARATIO REIPUBLICÆ, exhibit him raising a turreted female figure (a personification of the Roman empire) from the ground,—a design precisely similar to that on the coin of Gratian given in the plate of Richborough coins. The cut here inserted, has been engraved from a brass coin in my own cabinet, for the sake of the portrait, which has more of character in it than is shown in most of his coins, which resemble so much those of Gratian, as to make us suspect the fidelity of the likeness. The coins of third brass, bearing on the reverse, SPES . ROMANORVM, and a camp gate, are also deserving



of notice. This epigraph first occurs upon the coins of Maximus and his son Victor. The entrance to the castrum alludes to the great fortified *præsidia*, or *castra*,—such as those of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne,—erected along the limits of the empire, to repel the barbarians; who had now good reason to know, that walls alone, even such as Romans built, will not protect a country faithless to herself, and unguarded by hearts and hands disciplined to the service of knowledge and true freedom.

Maximus is styled, by Bede, a man of valour and probity; Gildas and Nennius are less favourable to his character, and lament his depopulating Britain, by withdrawing into Gaul the flower of its youth, and the entire families of the soldiers, so that the province was left defenceless against its enemies, the Picts and Scots of the north. But Geoffrey of Monmouth, under the name of Maximianus, makes Maximus a conspicuous actor, in the singular composition called his *British History*; and, among other deeds not mentioned in authentic history, introduces, apparently from old ecclesiastical legends, the story of his settling a portion of the soldiery in Armorica, hence called Britany, and the ridiculous tale of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins.

Ptolemy, the geographer, who lived in the first half of the second century, under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, makes Rutupiaë one of three towns of the Cantii; the other two being Londinium and Durovernum (Canterbury), or, as it is spelt in the modern editions of his work, Darvenum. But in the Itinerary of Antoninus Rutupiaë is called a port, or haven. It occurs in the second iter (*A Vallo ad Portum Ritupis*), a route of 481 miles, through York, Chester, London, and various intermediate stations, which, from Londinium, stand thus:

| | | |
|-----------------------|------------|--|
| NOVIOMAGO . . . | M.P. X | <i>Keston,¹ near Bromley.</i> |
| VAGNIACIS . . . | M.P. XVIII | <i>Southfleet.</i> |
| DYROBRIVIS . . . | M.P. IX | <i>Rochester and Strood.</i> |
| DYROLEVO . . . | M.P. XVI | <i>Davington, near Faversham.</i> |
| DYROVERNO . . . | M.P. XII | <i>Canterbury.</i> |
| AD PORTVM RITVPIS . . | M.P. XII | <i>Richborough.</i> |

Richard of Cirencester opens his Itinerary with a road from Richborough to *Segontium*, or *Caer Segont*, in Wales. For the sake of comparison with that of Antoninus, it need only be given here as far as London :

A Rhutupi ducta est "Via Guethlinga" dicta, usque in Segontium per m.d. cccxxiii, plus minus, sic :

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|--------------------|
| CANTIOPOLI quæ et DYROVERNO . . . | M.P. X . . | <i>Canterbury.</i> |
|-----------------------------------|------------|--------------------|

¹ *Noviomagus* is one of those stations which, coming next to large towns, and consequently being of subsidiary importance, are often difficult to identify from existing remains. It is unquestionably the *Neomagus* of Ptolemy, which he places to the south of London, in a direction which would favour the opinion of Camden and Gale, that it was situated in the neighbourhood of Croydon or Woodcote. Stukeley, following Sumner, places it about *Welling* or *Crayford*; Mr. Dunkin, at *Dartford*; others, at or near *Bromley*. The distance would countenance the last place; and the discoveries made in 1828 by Messrs. Kempe and Crofton Croker (see *Archæologia*, vol. xxii, p. 336), are also favourable to this allocation. In accepting *Bromley* or *Keston* as the site of *Noviomagus*, it will be seen, that the presumed direct road from *Londinium* to *Rochester*, leading over *Shooter's Hill*, has to be regained; and that, for some purpose, it had been departed from on quitting *Londinium*. The distance to *Southfleet*, where so many remains have been found, would accord with that given in the itinerary as separating *Noviomagus* from *Vagniacæ*; and, moreover, nine miles more,—bringing us to *Rochester*,—is the distance corresponding with that between *Vagniacæ* and *Durobrivæ*. The station *Durolevum*, I have ventured to place at *Davington*, and thus restored it to its position in the itinerary of Antoninus, as regards distance; while other circumstances incline me to place it there, rather than at *Milton*, *Newington*, or *Charing*, the localities to which it has been generally assigned. (*Archæologia*, vol. xxix, p. 221.)

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| DYROSEVO | M.P. XII . | <i>Davington.</i> |
| DYROPROVIS | M.P. XXV . | <i>Rochester.</i> |
| <i>Deinde transis Thamesim intrasque provinciam et civitatem</i> | | |
| LONDINIVM AVGVSTAM | M.P. XXVII ¹ | <i>London.</i> |

Richborough is again introduced in the fifteenth iter of Richard; a circuitous route of much interest for the mention of stations which do not occur in Antoninus, among which is *Regulbium*, Reculver :

| <i>A Londinio, per Clausentum, in Londinium usque, sic :</i> | <i>From London, through Bittern, again to London.</i> |
|--|--|
| CALEBA | M.P. XLIIII . <i>Silchester.</i> |
| VINDOMI | M.P. XV . . . <i>Near St. Mary Bourne.²</i> |
| VENTA BELGARVM | M.P. XXI . . . <i>Winchester.</i> |
| AD LAPIDEM | M.P. VI . . . <i>Stoneham.³</i> |
| CLAVSENTO | M.P. IIII . . . <i>Bittern.</i> |
| PORTV MAGNO | M.P. X (XV) . <i>Portchester.</i> |
| REGNO | M.P. X (XV) . <i>Chichester.</i> |
| AD DECIMVM | M.P. X . . . <i>On the Arun.</i> |
| ANDERIDA PORTV | M.P. (XLV) . <i>Pevensey.</i> |
| AD LEMANVM | M.P. XXV . . . <i>On the Rother (!)</i> |
| LEMANIANO PORTV | M.P. X (XX) . <i>Lymne.</i> |
| DVERIS | M.P. X . . . <i>Dover.</i> |
| RHVTVPIB COLONIA | M.P. X (XV) . <i>Richborough.</i> |
| REGVLBIO | M.P. X . . . <i>Reculver.</i> |
| CANTIOPOLI | M.P. X . . . <i>Canterbury.</i> |

¹ The apparent discrepancy between the distances from *Durobriva* to *Londinium*, in the two itineraries, is worthy of notice. Antoninus makes it thirty-seven; Richard, only twenty-seven. The difference of ten miles must be accounted for by the introduction of *Noviomagus*, which was, as before observed, considerably to the west of the more direct route taken by Richard. It is one of the internal evidences, in my opinion, of the authenticity of this writer.

² Reasons for this appropriation will be found in Hatcher's *Translation of Richard of Cirencester*, p. 156.

³ Bede mentions *Ad Lapidem*, cap. xvi, *Hist. Eccles.*

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| DVROLEVO . . . | M.P. XVIII (XII) | <i>Davington.</i> |
| MADO . . . | M.P. XII (?) | <i>On the Medway.¹</i> |
| VAGNIACA . . . | M.P. XVIII | <i>Southfleet.</i> |
| NOVIO MAGO . . . | M.P. XVIII | <i>Keston.</i> |
| LONDINIO . . . | M.P. XV | <i>London.</i> |

It will be observed that Richard terms *Rhutupia*, a colony; and in his description of the ancient state of Britain,² he places it among the nine colonial cities. Moreover, under the head of *Cantium*, he enumerates *Dubrae*, *Lemanus*, and *Regulbium*, as *præsidia*, garrisoned by the Romans; and, chief of all, *Rhutupis*, which was colo-

¹ *Mado* has been supposed, by some, to mean Maidstone; and recent discoveries made by Mr. Charles, favour the supposition. The numbers are here obviously incorrect.

² "VIII Colonia, sc. Londinium *Augusta*, Camalodunum *Geminæ Martiæ*, RhutupisThermæ *Aquæ Solis*, Isca, *Secunda*, Deva *Getica*, Glevum *Caudia*, Lindum.....Camboricum.....Lib. i, cap. vii. It may be mentioned, that the authenticity of Richard of Cirencester's *De Situ Britannia* has been questioned; and Bertram, who published it, has been accused of having collected his materials from the best ancient and modern authorities, and arranged the entire work. Hatcher, in the preface to his translation, has ably combated the objections brought against the originality of the itinerary; and in one of his letters to me, dated Salisbury, November 23, 1846, he writes: "Captain Jolliffe kindly called my attention to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for the observations on Richard of Cirencester. After all, they are only fighting with the wind. In my edition I gave up, long ago, his description of Britain, and his chronology, except the account of the rank held by the British towns, which was only known from Richard; and has, in most particulars, been verified. But what no cavilling can set aside, is his Itinerary. No forger could have guessed at the existence of Roman roads known only to our native antiquaries; and this in more instances than one. As for poor Bertram, the sneers at him are as unmerited as they are ridiculous. Even Mr. Windmore, the librarian of Westminster, is not spared, though his communications are probably authentic. I intended, once, to have set this question at rest; but that time is now gone by."

nized, and became the metropolis (of *Cantium*), and the haven of the Roman fleet, which commanded the north sea; and that this city was of such celebrity, that it gave the name of Rutupine to the neighbouring shores. But this is evidently a mistake, into which Richard had been led probably by Ptolemy and Orosius, as well as by the word *colonia* appended to *Rutupiæ* in the above iter. We have no evidence in existing remains, or in recorded discoveries, to warrant our placing *Rutupiæ* in the same category with *Londinium*, *Camulodunum*, and such places, which were clearly towns, or cities, of great extent; the limits of most of which can still be traced, often serving as the municipal boundary down to the present time. We have scarcely any instance of the site of a Roman commercial town being totally deserted and effaced. Verulamium, indeed, is covered with corn-fields and pastures; but its walls remain, and the foundations of many of its public and private buildings are yet secure beneath the soil. The town of St. Alban's was built from its ruins. Chesterford, on the borders of Cambridgeshire, succeeded the Roman *Icianos*,¹ and was, in the middle ages, a town of considerable importance; even now it is a large village, bearing evident vestiges of its former rank.

We next approach the *Notitia*, which is a list of the military and civil appointments of the Roman empire, taken at some uncertain period,—as late, or later, than the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius. It is one of the most important documents which have descended to us, in relation to the military tenure of Britain; and although it bears reference only to a late, and probably very limited, period, it is not the less interesting on that account; for,

¹ Thus spelt, in the accusative. See *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. iv, p. 378.

as far as it extends, the information it affords is clear and decisive, and although the author is unknown, and the precise time of its compilation uncertain, its authenticity is undisputed. It gives us a knowledge of the stations along the line of the great northern wall; of those on the southern and eastern coast, called the Saxon shore; and of some others, as well as of the forces quartered in them.

Pancirolos, in the preface to his edition, published at Venice, 1602, says: "I am of opinion that the *Notitia* was written towards the end of the reign of Theodosius the younger (A.D. 450); for, under the governor of Egypt, he mentions the *ala Theodosiana* lately established. This is in his reign. He mentions, also, the *limes Saxonicus* (*littus Saxonicum*) *per Britanniam*; which name began to be used in the year 400, when the Saxons invaded Britain. He makes no mention of the *vicarius Illyrici*, because that country was wasted by the Huns in the year 445, under the same Theodosius and Valentinian the third. The very words mentioned in the title, shew it was written after the year 425, when Honorius died. Nor could it be written after the year 453, when, according to Cassiodorus and Marcellinus, *Concordia* and *Aquileia* were destroyed by Attila; because it mentions the buildings of the one, and the treasures of the other, and the money coined there. I therefore suppose it might be written near the end of the reign of Theodosius the younger; and Alciatus (though I know not where he read it) calls it *Breviarium Theodosii Junioris*."

I am inclined to date the compilation of this work at some period earlier than that of Theodosius the younger. There is, throughout its construction, much careful and comprehensive arrangement; and the military system it unfolds, evinces the discipline and skill

that we might expect from Theodosius the Great, or the genius of Stilicho, rather than from the inglorious son of Arcadius. The *ala Theodosiana*, the *ala Arcadiana*, each marked *nuper constituta*, and the *Honoriani*, may have all been enrolled during the lifetime of Theodosius; the last two, when Arcadius and Honorius were Cæsars. But whenever the *Notitia* may have been written, it must have been before the Roman troops were withdrawn from Britain, though probably but a short time previous; for we find them concentrated upon the two great points of attack,—the wall to the north, and the Saxon shore,—while other stations, which had in former years been garrisoned, are not mentioned: a silence which implies that some urgent cause had required the withdrawal of the troops; and that cause is explained by their disposition on the frontiers. Thus the second legion, surnamed *Augusta*, whose headquarters were at *Isca* (*Silurum*), had been removed to *Rutupiæ*; and only this and the sixth, regular legions, are mentioned, the others having probably been withdrawn from the province. In the reign of Theodosius the younger, which lasted half a century, the Romans entirely quitted the island. It was in the beginning of the fifth century that Constantine III was proclaimed Augustus by the legions in Britain, and confirmed in the title by those of Gaul. Zosimus places this occurrence in the lifetime of Arcadius, and says that the soldiers in Britain had previously promoted, successively, Marcus and Gratian to the imperial dignity. No monument bearing allusion to the fleeting government of these emperors has come down to us; but of Constantine we possess coins which corroborate the scanty notices of the historians, and prove the duration and extent of his power. Zosimus states that the inroads of the Vandals, with the Alani and the Suevi, caused

the soldiers in Britain, in self-defence, to elect emperors; that Constantine, having expelled the barbarians, and fortified the Rhine, placed the province of Gaul in security for some time; but that ultimately, being in Spain with his main army, opposing Honorius, the natives beyond the Rhine again broke into Gaul and Britain, and compelled the inhabitants, in self-defence, to release themselves from allegiance to the Roman empire; and, having freed themselves from the barbarians, to form governments of their own, expelling the Roman magistrates or officers. It is difficult to believe that, after such events as these, the compilation of the *Notitia* could have taken place, or that the Romans held other than a very precarious tenure of any part of Britain. The coins of Honorius, Arcadius, and Constantine, are the last that are found in England, in places occupied by the Roman soldiers, and on the sites of the Roman cities and villas, unless we assign to a posterior place the vast number of rude copies, termed *minimi*, which may very probably have been struck in the interval between the abandonment of Britain by the Romans, and the Saxon conquest.

The *Notitia*, as far as it relates to the district under consideration, stands thus:

SECTIO LII.

CHAPTER LII.

Sub dispositione viri spectabilis Comitis Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam:

Under the government of the honourable the Count of the Saxon Shore in Britain:

Præpositus numeri Fortensium Othonæ.

The commander of a detachment of Fortenses at Othona.

Præpositus militum Tungricanorum Dubris.

The commander of Tungrian soldiers at Dover.

Præpositus numeri Turnacensium Lemannis.

The commander of a detachment of Tournay soldiers at Lymne.

*Præpositus equitum Dalmatarum
Branodunensis, Branoduno.*

The Branodunensian commander of
Dalmatian horse at Brancaster.

*Præpositus equitum Stablesian. Gar-
riannonensis, Garriannono.*

The Garriannonensian commander
of the Stablesian horse at Burgh.

*Tribunus cohortis primæ Vatasiorum
Regulbio.*

The tribune of the first cohort of Ve-
tasians at Reculver.

*Præpositus legionis secundæ Augustæ
Rutupis.*

The commander of the second legion,
surnamed Augusta, at Richborough.

*Præpositus numeri Abulcorum An-
deridæ.*

The commander of a detachment of
the Abulci at Pevensey.

*Præpositus numeri Exploratorum
portu Adurni.*

The commander of a detachment of
Exploratores at Portchester.

Of these great military stations, the only one respecting whose site there can be much doubt, is that which stands first,—Othona. It is supposed to have been the Ithancester of Bede, on the Pant at St. Peter's-on-the-Wall, near Bradwell-juxta-Mare; and etymology, with foundations of buildings, a rampart, and a Roman road, countenance the supposition. But, at the same time, it must be taken into consideration, that a Roman fortress at Felixstowe, on the Suffolk coast, has been covered by the encroachment of the sea; and as it appears to have been of a character similar to others on the Saxon shore, while we have only tradition for the submergement of a Roman station or town at Bradwell, the question as to which was *Othona* cannot satisfactorily be decided,—especially as no monument of any kind which would confirm the appropriation, has ever been discovered at either of these places. It is also very remarkable, that not a single inscription has ever been recorded as found at either of the above stations, while on the sites of most of those upon the line of the Roman wall, such memorials have been rather abundantly brought to light; and in many instances they tend to identify the stations with those mentioned in the *Notitia*.

The second legion, called *Augusta*, and also *Britannica*, which we see was located at Rutupiæ in the last days of the Roman rule, seems to have been in this province throughout the entire period of its annexation to the empire. Tacitus tells us it came into Britain in the time of Claudius, under the command of Vespasian. Under Hadrian, we learn from inscriptions, it was in Cumberland and Northumberland; where it was also, for some time, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, as well as in Scotland, employed in building the wall. Ptolemy, at this time, places it at Caerleon,¹ which was probably its head-quarters, whence it might have been occasionally removed to the north; and this will reconcile the apparent contradiction of inscriptions recording its presence at widely different places in the same reign. The inscriptions which have been found at Caerleon, referring to soldiers serving in this legion, or to its transactions, are numerous; and although the legion itself is not always named, it is probable that the monuments always allude to it, or to its auxiliaries.²

The second legion, with its cognizance, a capricorn, is recorded in the legionary coins of Carausius; but neither coins nor inscriptions throw any light upon its movements towards or at the period when we may suppose the incursions of the Franks and Saxons required its presence at Rutupiæ; and, as has been before observed, no other mention is made of this legion, in connexion with Rutu-

¹ *Isca Dumnoniorum* (Exeter), is generally considered as a palpable mistake made by Ptolemy. From the numerous inscriptions referring to the second legion, which have been found at Caerleon, and from the absence of such inscriptions at Exeter, it seems clear he meant *Isca Silurum*, Caerleon.

² See *Roman Antiquities found at Caerleon*, by J. E. Lee, London, 1845; Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, London, 1732; and Hodgson's *Roman Wall and South Tyndale*, Newcastle, 1841.

piæ, than that in the *Notitia*. It would be wandering from the present purpose, to trace the locations of this legion in earlier times, or to describe the various inscriptions in relation to it; but there is an engraved plate of brass, figured in Buonarrotti,¹ which, as it refers to the second legion, apparently at a late period, and as it seems to have been overlooked by our antiquaries, may be here briefly described.

This plate is circular. It bears, in a style of workmanship which betokens a late period, a design intended to denote two of the British legions,—the twentieth and the second. Each is represented by five soldiers, armed, and bearing circular, or rather oval, shields, standing in line opposite to each other. The foremost soldier of the twentieth legion carries a military standard, beneath which is inscribed, in two lines, *LEG. XX. V.V.*; behind which is the figure of a wild boar,—its emblem or device. The other group is, in like manner, described by a standard and inscription, in three lines, *LEG. SECVND. AVGVS.*, with a capricorn. Between are the words, *AVRELIVS. CERVIANVS*; and beneath the twentieth legion, *VTERE FELIX*. In the upper part of the circle is an eagle, standing upon what seems to have been intended for a thunderbolt; and in the lower half of the area are various animals, namely, a dog chasing a rabbit, a hound pursuing a stag, a lion, and two peacocks, drawn in a rude and somewhat grotesque style.² Who Aurelius

¹ Osservazioni istoriche sopra alcuni medaglioni antichi. Roma, MDCXCVIII.

² Dr. Rigollot, the President of the Society of Antiquaries of Picardy, who is preparing for publication a memoir on the objects found in the burial-places of the Teutonic peoples of the fifth and sixth century, informs me, that he notices a close analogy between the work on this bronze plate, and the designs upon buckles of sword-belts found, with weapons, in graves which he assigns to the fourth century.

Cervianus was, or on what occasion the patera was inscribed to him, must remain, it is to be feared, a mystery. He would appear to have been, in some manner, connected with the two legions when associated together. The twentieth legion, whose head-quarters were at *Deva* (Chester), was often in cooperation with the second legion at earlier periods than any to which the peculiar fabric of this plate of brass will warrant our assigning its date; and we find no specific notice of the twentieth legion subsequent to a period long previous to the time when the second legion is last mentioned, during its stay at Rutupiaë. It is not named in the *Notitia*; but that omission does not positively prove it may not still have been in Britain, although it is probable that it had quitted the island before the compilation of that work.

Two ancient works in which Rutupiaë occurs yet remain to be mentioned. The first is the now well known treatise written in Latin by a Gothic geographer, who appears to have flourished in the seventh century, at Ravenna, the capital of the Gothic kingdom in Italy; and is, from that circumstance, popularly known as the anonymous geographer of Ravenna. This writer gives copious lists of towns in the various counties he describes, which have evidently been taken from maps.¹ In Britain, the list of towns is

¹ Mr. Wright, in a valuable paper contributed to the Congress of the British Archæological Association at Gloucester, observes: "Among the rather numerous writers quoted by this anonymous geographer, are three 'philosophers of the Goths' (*Gothorum philosophi*), whose names, Aithanarid, Edelwald, and Marcomir, at once evince the country to which they belonged. He quotes also frequently two Romano-African geographers, Probus and Melitianus; two Græco-Egyptians, named Cyachoris and Blantasis, who had travelled to the south of Egypt in search of knowledge; two Persians, who had written a 'picture of the universe' in Greek, and whom he names Arsatius and Aphrodisianus; two

very numerous, and names occur which are not found elsewhere ; but they are evidently enumerated in a confused manner, and we cannot safely assume the position of the places from the order in which the names follow each other. In that part of the list, however, where Rutupiæ occurs, the writer seems to have followed a line with less interruption than usual. It runs thus :

| | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| CORINIVM DOBVNOBVM | <i>Cirencester.</i> |
| CALEBA ATRERATVM | <i>Silchester.</i> |
| ANDEBESIO (<i>sic</i>) | <i>Pevensey.</i> |
| MIBA | |
| MVTVANTONIS | |
| LEMANIS | <i>Lymne.</i> |
| DVBRIS | <i>Dover.</i> |
| DVROVERNVM CANTIACORVM | <i>Canterbury.</i> |
| MVTVPIS | <i>Richborough.</i> |
| DVROBRABIS | <i>Rochester.</i> |
| LONDINI | <i>London.</i> |

The other is a far more important work ; but, unfortunately, the greater portion of the part relating to Britain has perished. It is known as *Peutinger's Table*, having been found in the library of Conrad Peutinger after his death. From internal evidence, it seems to have been made at some period between the time of Constantine and Theodosius the Great. From the small portion remaining of Britain, and its imperfect state, it is impossible to know the original scheme of the table with respect to this country ; but Lemanae, Dubrae, and Rutupiæ, are marked as places of import-

Greeks, Hylas and Sardonius ; and two Romans, Lallianus and Castorius. The last of these is the writer whose authority the geographer of Ravenna follows most largely. All the works of the school represented by these names are now lost."—*Transactions of the British Archaeological Association at its third annual Congress, held at Gloucester, p. 27.*

ance, probably from being the chief ports or havens in connexion with Gaul ; while Regulbium, Othona, given in the *Notitia*, and Anderida, are omitted.

The scanty and vague historical notices which have been quoted in the foregoing pages, are yet more copious than any which have survived the wreck of ancient literature specifically illustrative of other Romano-British localities. It might have been expected, from the importance of the Rutupine coast, its commercial and military consequence, and its populousness, that these records would be increased in value and interest, by a few, at least, of those monuments which the historical antiquary justly prizes as the best guides, in the absence of written history, and as the safest annotators to the pages of the ancient chroniclers. It was one of the common customs of the Romans—an emanation from the national genius—to seek to perpetuate public acts by inscriptions upon stone and marble, the vast assistance of which in corroborating, in explaining, and in correcting ancient authors, is duly appreciated by modern historians ; and the antiquaries of the present day consider as one of the highest objects of their researches, the discovery and conservation of such memorials, the authenticity of which is unquestionable ; and which, though often sententious, are free from the suspicion of interpolations, the errors which so frequently attend the transcriptions of scribes, and the falsifications engrafted for party purposes. Inscriptions often reveal the nature, age, and object, of buildings, when the very foundations of the edifices they commemorated, have been destroyed ; military and civil acts ; the names of persons, places, and divinities, elsewhere neither mentioned nor alluded to ; and thus possess a topical value of the highest character and interest.

This series of monuments is not available to our present inquiries. The only one which may claim notice as possibly referring to Rutupiæ, is a dedication to the nymphs by a body of the Britons, which, many years ago, was found at Amorbach. It has been published by Gruter and others, and is given by Dr. Steiner, in his *Roman Inscriptions on the Rhine*, as follows:—

NYMPHIS.
N.BRITTON.
TRIPVTIEN.
SVB.CVRA.
M...VLPI.
MALCHI.
▷ LEG. XXII.
PR.P.F.

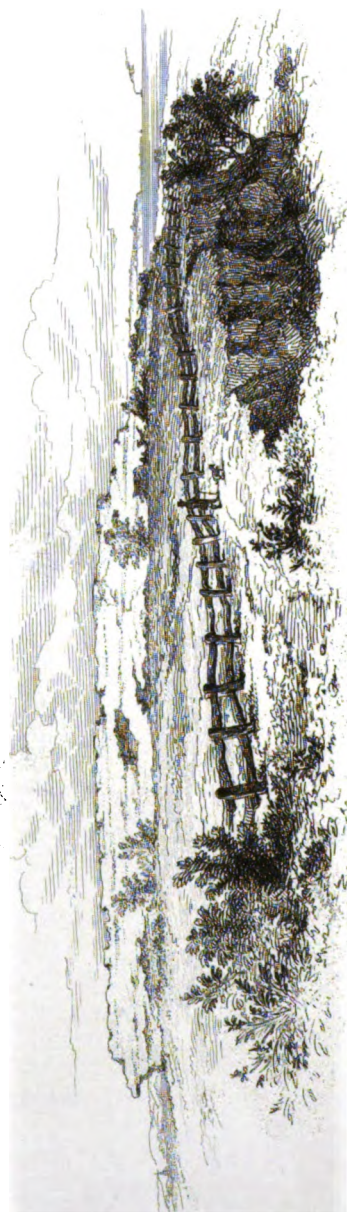
Nymphis, numerus Brittonum Triputiensium, sub cura Marci Ulpii Malchi, centurionis legionis XXII, Primigeniæ Piæ Fidelis.

There is evidently an error in the spelling of the word intended to be expressed in the third line. Gale, in his commentaries on the iter of Antoninus, believes it to be intended for *Tripontium*,—a station occurring in the iter from London to Lincoln, supposed, by Gale, to be Dowbridge; by others, Rugby. Battely believed it related to Richborough, and that, instead of *Triputien*, we should read *Riputien*; and, allowing for the transposition of letters, *Rutupien*. Such errors are not unusual; and are, doubtless, often to be attributed to the carelessness or ignorance of the sculptor. It seems much more probable that we should be warranted in thinking this word to have reference to *Rutupiæ* rather than *Tripontium*, as the latter must have been a very subordinate station, the site of which is not even agreed upon by antiquaries; while the rectification here proposed, is favoured by the well-known importance

of the station and surrounding district. The inscription may therefore be translated : *Dedicated to the Nymphs by a numerus (or body) of Rutupine Britons, under the charge of Marcus Ulpius Malchus, centurion of the twenty-second legion (surnamed) Primagenia, Pia, Fidelis.* Several inscriptions are extant, in this country and in Germany, which mention the Britons or Britones; on the Rhine, besides that of Amorbach, there are two at Aschaffenburg, and one at Niederbiber, all of which speak of them in connexion with the twenty-second legion. This legion was, for a long period, quartered in Gaul and Germany, and was probably almost wholly composed of auxiliary troops. Its allegiance to Victorinus in Gaul, and after him, to Carausius in Britain, is commemorated by coins. Whether the corps of Britons mentioned in these inscriptions were all of them raised from the inhabitants of this country, is questionable; it is possible some may have been the Armorican Britons in Gaul.



North Wall.



F.W. Farwell

South Wall

D.P. S.

RICHMOND

THE CASTRUM.

THE upper cut, as shown on page 33 of our volume, gives a view looking into the remains of the castrum at Richborough, from Stonar; and shows its situation upon a hill or promontory, which, in front of the fortress, rises abruptly from the marshes, but on either side slopes gradually down to their level, the course of the sea in former times. The cliff to the left has been recently formed, by cutting away the hill, to procure materials for the Deal and Ramsgate railway. During the excavations along the line of this cliff, a very considerable number of the antiquities to be hereafter described were brought to light,—many of them being found in pits of various depths and diameters, which will also be referred to.

Towards the extreme point of this cliff, on the left, were situated the remains of a Roman house, of which a plan will be found further on. In this view, the position of the village of Ash,—remarkable for the Saxon antiquities discovered in its environs,—is indicated by the church. The village of Richborough, consisting of a few respectable farm-houses and cottages, is separated from the castle by a field, through which a road runs from the opening in the western wall,—the site of the chief gate,—upon the course of the Roman road. After crossing the field, it winds slightly to the

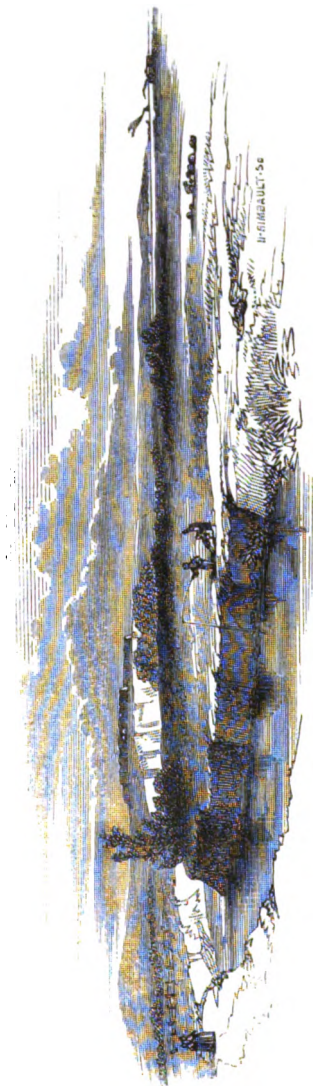
right ; and, by an imperceptible descent, after leaving the village, passes through the marshes at Ash level.

The lower cut, engraved from a sketch made and presented by Mr. Thomas Wright, affords a side view of the south and a portion of the north wall, from the entrance to Sandwich near the junction of the Canterbury high-road and the path to Richborough. The river Stour, at low-water mark, is shown in the fore-ground ; in the distance, on the right, are indicated the Thanes, Pegwell bay, and Ramsgate pier at the extreme point.

The road from Sandwich to Richborough divaricates at the commencement of the cliff at the foot of the hill, and the pedestrian can either proceed by the side of the railway, between the cliff and the river to the left of the cottage, or cross the railway, and ascend the hill to the south wall, shewn in fig. 2, pl. I. The approach is perhaps most impressive by the former route. The broken ground, the half-buried return wall on the low land, the shapeless masses of broken masonry detached from the north wall and covered with ivy, the lone cottage and its neat well-stocked garden,—are picturesquely grouped, and contrast strongly with the wide, flat expanse of the surrounding scenery. A shady cart-road leads to the summit of the hill ; and the north wall of Rutupiaë, extending five hundred and sixty feet, meets the eye in all its grandeur and magnificence ; and, although shorn of its fair proportions, it still possesses much of its primitive appearance (pl. I, fig. 1), and is by far the best preserved portion of the structure, being in some places nearly thirty feet high on the exterior, and in other parts upwards of twenty. In the engraving is shown, near the termination on the right, by a slight break in the facing, the position of a square buttress, which has fallen. The postern



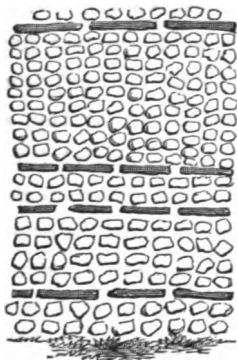
View of Richborough from Stonar.



View of Richborough from the entrance to Sandwich on the Canterbury road.

gate is also seen, the interior of which forms fig. 1 of pl. II; and of which an enlarged view, showing the exterior architectural details, is given in p. 37. Beyond the gate was another square buttress, of which the lower portion is yet remaining, and forms the foreground of fig. 2, pl. II, which is a view of the north wall looking in the opposite direction.

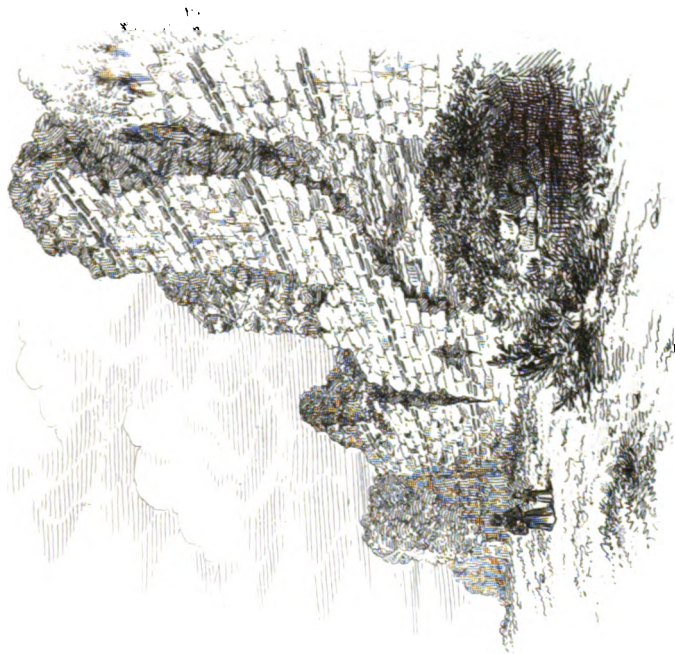
As the north wall is by far the best preserved, it necessarily demands a more minute description. Its external facing is remarkably fresh and firm, while that of the other walls has been almost entirely removed, except where it has been protected from the hand of man by the accumulated earth. It is formed of regular courses of squared grit and Portland stone, of unequal size, larger towards the foundation, and decreasing towards the top. These courses, varying from six to nine, are separated by layers of tiles; and a good idea of the entire arrangement of the external facing may be formed from the engraving in p. 37, which shows the exterior of the postern gate, and part of the wall towards the west.



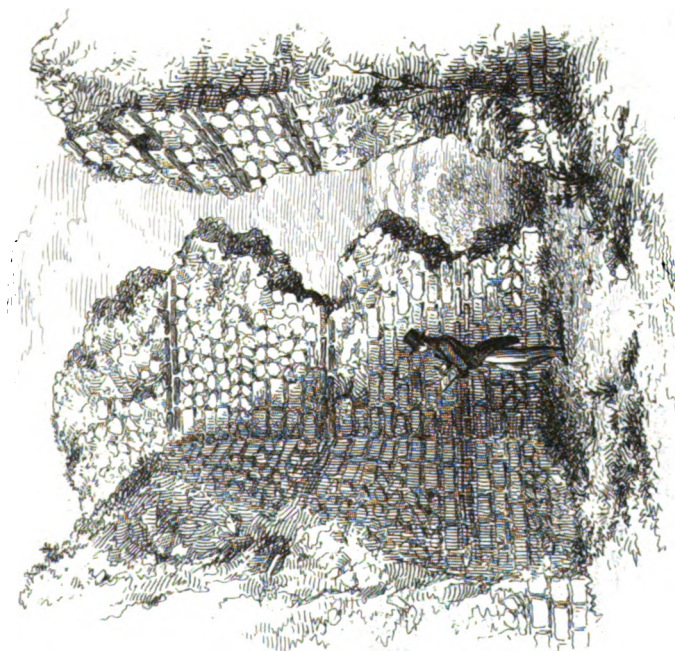
Interior facing.

Internally, the facing was chiefly composed of flints; but, unfortunately, it has been almost entirely destroyed. From what yet remains, here and there, it is shown to have been very different from that of the exterior. The annexed cut represents a portion near the north-west corner. It does not appear to have been so uniform as that on the exterior side, as may be exemplified by a remnant near the postern gate. Fig. 1, pl. I, may also be referred to, in which courses

of flints are introduced with stone, and occasionally arranged in



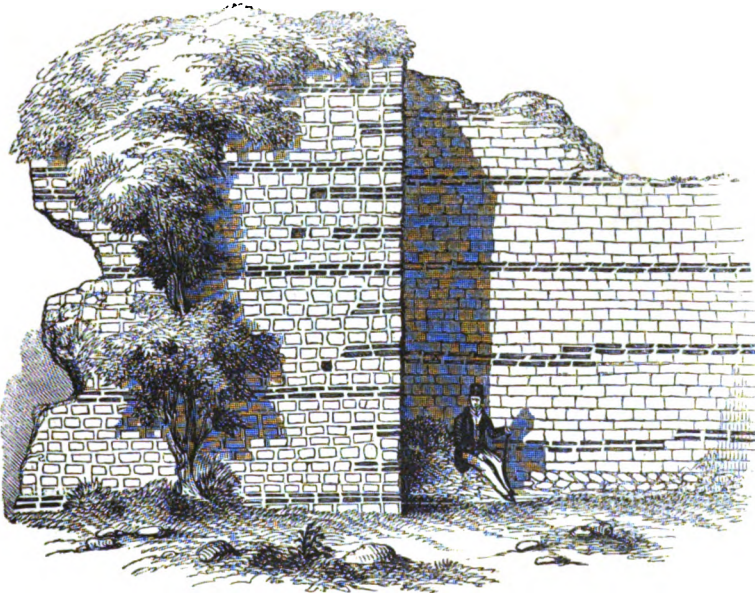
North Wall looking towards the East



Interior of the N. W. Wall

RICHMOND, VA.

of making our sketch ; in this view is also exhibited the exact manner in which the two lowest bonding-courses of tiles are arranged



External view of the Postern Gate and part of the north wall.

to the right of the gate, and the substruction of undressed flints exposed to view by a recent removal of the earth. It may be well here to give a plan and elevation, in order to make known the construction of the gate.

Fig. 1 (*see next page*), the plan ; fig. 2, elevation of the entrance seen on the side c, d, as we enter from without. The width at c is about three feet ten inches ; but at the turning, at a, it is increased to about seven feet eight inches, which is the width up to the interior of the castrum, e. The floor of this entrance is formed of solid stone-work, as shown in the elevation, and contains a

groove or drain, *e, a*, originally covered with stone; the passage is ten feet four inches long in one direction, and fifteen feet in the

Fig. 1.

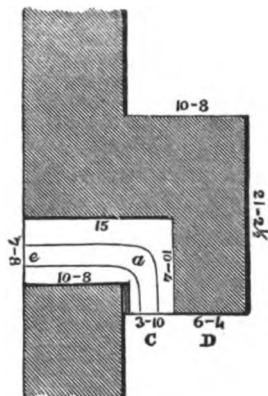
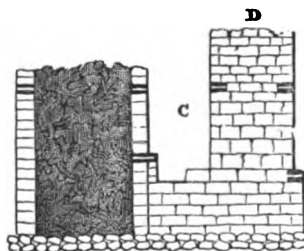


Fig. 2.



Plan and Elevation of the Postern Gate.

other; the great wall here measures ten feet eight inches in thickness; and the lesser, or entrance wall, six feet four inches. To understand more completely the arrangement of this gate, see also plate II.

The foundation of the walls of the castrum is formed of two rows of boulders, laid upon, or a very little below, the surface of the natural soil, which is a compact pit-sand. The great body of the wall is composed of layers of boulders, and layers of a mixture of boulders, sand-stone, ochre-stone, blocks of chalk with pholades embedded, and balani on their surface; the whole cemented with mortar formed of lime, grit, sea-shells, and pounded tiles. There are also pieces of oolite and travertine, which some of our geologists have imagined were brought over from the continent.¹ These

¹ Mr. W. F. Ainsworth communicated the following observations to Mr. Wright: "In the north wall, besides the customary courses of limestone, rock,

ingredients vary in proportions in different places, apparently as particular materials were abundant or otherwise during the progress of the building. The facings of the walls have already been described.

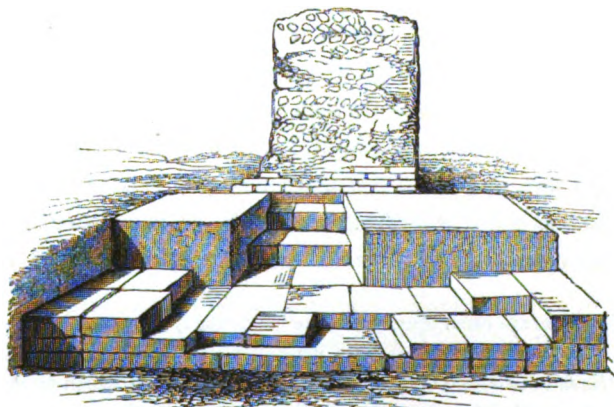
It was the opinion of Mr. King,¹ that the walls were constructed by having the whole mass flung carelessly into a great *caisson*, or frame of wood, the interior breadth of which was that of the wall, and its depth, that of the space between the alternate rows of tiles, while its length was sometimes more and sometimes less, just as suited convenience; and that the parts thus reared, one at the end of another, on and over each row of tiles, were united together afterwards merely by means of very small loose stones and mortar thrown into the narrow space left at the ends between them. The objections to this theory, are, that the separations asserted to be filled up with small loose stones, are nowhere discernible; the distances between the bands of tiles are not equal, as they probably would have been had caissons been used; and the materials constituting the body of the walls do not appear to have been thrown in carelessly; but, on the contrary, are arranged with much precision, as seen in the south wall, from which almost the entire facing has been removed; and, towards the east side, an immense mass of

and bricks, there are other courses,—more particularly in one spot at the base of the wall,—of travertino, or limestone, deposited by a spring, or running waters. Also, on the same side, and half way up the side, masses of petrified *teredo navalis*. Again, at the south side, where the wall is broken down, there is a considerable mass of oolite, more like the Norman stone than any of our oolites. It would be a curious question, to know whence all these materials, foreign to the locality, came; and to ascertain if there are any springs or rivulets depositing travertino, or calcareous tuffa, in the neighbourhood.”—*Archæological Album*, p. 14.

¹ *Munimenta Antiqua*, vol. ii, p. 9.

the interior masonry has been extracted, so as to form a kind of chamber, in which the regular arrangement of the strata of boulders is clearly shown. In other places, where the walls have been broken into, the same system may not be so obvious, on account of the difficult nature of the materials.

In the west wall, marked B in the plan, is the open space where the chief entrance, or *Decuman gate*, stood. This was ascertained by Mr. Boys, who laid open a complete pavement of stones, the construction of which, as it appeared when examined by him, together with the remaining fragment of the wall on one side, will be understood by the annexed engraving from a sketch made at the time. It was $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in depth; 24 feet 11 inches in length; and 21 feet 1 inch in breadth,—a space sufficient to allow ten men



Platform of stones in the western entrance, or Decuman Gate.

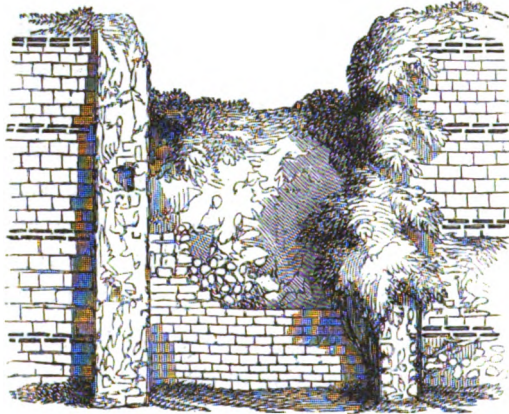
to march abreast; an arrangement which originally gave name to this great gate of the Roman castrum. Most of the stones which formed this pavement appear to have been used as foundations

for the walls of the farm-houses of Richborough, and their out-buildings.

The castrum was originally flanked by two square towers on the north side, and traces of one on the west, and one on the south side, yet remain.¹ At the angles of the north wall were circular towers: the position of which will be seen in the plan (see p. 44). The square towers, projecting about eight feet, were solid, to the extent of nearly eight feet from the foundation, hollow in the centre, and united to the main wall again at the top. It is probable that these towers contained a room, with loop-holes for watchers. In the main wall within these towers, are holes several feet in length, which seem to have served for the insertion of timber. As in the postern gate, the rows of tiles were increased at the angles of these towers, as may yet be seen in the remains of that on the north wall. It has been asserted, that these towers were erected at some period subsequent to that of the castrum; but a slight examination of the masonry will prove they were built at the same time. In the north wall, it is true, the bonding courses of tiles are not interrupted by the addition of the tower,—a circumstance which may have given rise to the error; but the lateral walls are built into, and from, the main one, in the same manner as the upper one; and the tiles at the angle, increased in number in the main wall, corresponded with those in the tower. Moreover, the materials, the mortar, and the facing, are precisely similar in both the wall and the towers. In the interior of the tower in the west wall, c, in the plan, the bonding courses of tiles are interrupted, as will be

¹ Mr. Boys says there were two on the west and two on the south; and in his plan he indicates a round tower at the n. e. angle below the cliff.

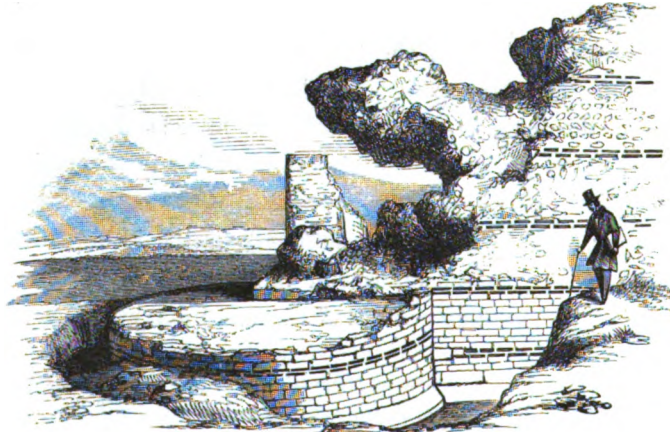
perceived by the cut annexed, to the extent of the tower, and no



Site of square tower in the western wall.

extra tiles are introduced at the junction, while the lateral walls are worked into the main one, and not built up against it. There can be little doubt of their having been watch-towers, and not designed merely as supports to the walls.

The remains of the circular towers which enclosed the angles of the west wall, are not to be traced above ground ; but they were laid open by Mr. Boys, and recently by Mr. Rolfe. The subjoined engraving represents the lower part of that at the south-west angle



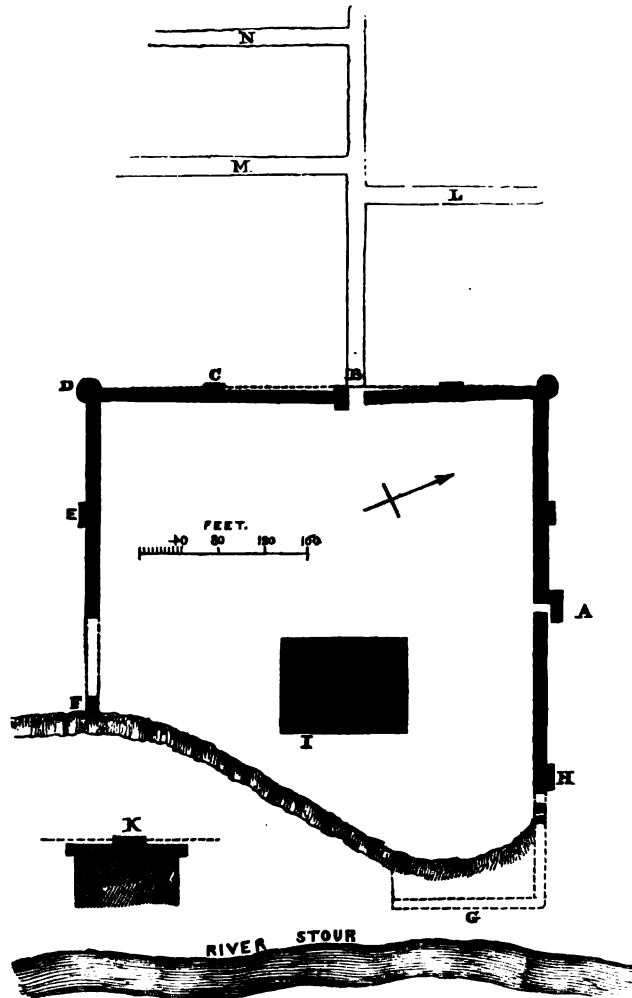
Circular tower at the angle of the W. and S.W. wall.

(D, in the plan), from a sketch taken recently. Like the others, it is solid at the bottom, and was probably hollow in the middle, and united to the main walls at top. It is 18 feet, 6 inches, in diameter, and 41 feet round; the distance from the points of junction with the wall about 15 feet; the depth below the surface 5 feet; at the bottom is a projection of rough masonry, extending from 6 to 12 inches beyond the foundation to which it serves as a plinth.

The following plan will be found necessary to give a perfect notion of the extent and disposition of the walls, and of the course of the inland cliff, which supplied the place of a mural defence. In it is also indicated a platform of masonry, which for a long time has excited the curiosity of antiquaries, and the original purpose of which, notwithstanding the researches of Mr. Boys and others, and lastly of Mr. Rolfe, is still undetermined. The following is the description given, upwards of fifty years since, by the former, one of the soundest and most accurate investigators of his time :

“ Within the area of the castle, not precisely in the centre, but somewhat towards the north-east corner, underground, is a solid rectangular platform of masonry, 144-5 feet long, 104 feet wide, and 5 feet thick. It is a composition of boulders and coarse mortar, and the whole upper surface to the very verge is covered over with a coat of the same sort of mortar, six inches thick. In the middle of this platform is the base of a superstructure in the shape of a cross, rising somewhat above the ground, and from 4 to 5 feet above the platform. It has been faced with square stones, some of which remain. The shaft of the cross, running north and south, is 87 feet long and 75 feet broad; the traverse is 22 feet in width and

RICHBOROUGH.



- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>A. Postern gate. B. Decuman gate. C. Tower shewn in cut at page . E. Square tower. F. Corner of south wall projecting over the brink of the cliff.</p> | <p>G. Return wall overthrown. H. Site of tower in north wall. I. Surface of the subterranean building. K. Section of subterranean building. L, M, N. Track, ridge, &c. mentioned by Mr. Boyle.</p> |
|---|--|

46 feet in length. A base of such solidity could scarcely have been intended for the support of a roof, or have formed a part of any compound building."

Mr. Boys, it appears, was not aware of the existence of the most remarkable part of this structure which remains to be described. In 1822, a gentleman named M. Gleig, and others, made excavations, and discovered beneath the platform mentioned above, an extensive subterranean building, down the side of the wall of which they sunk a shaft to the depth of about 22 feet from the under part of the platform, in the hope of finding an entrance at the bottom, but meeting with springs, they were compelled to abandon their operations, without succeeding in the object of their research. The platform extends beyond the walls of this subterranean building, on the longer side twelve, and on the shorter side ten feet. The extent of the subterranean works on the exterior is therefore 132 feet by 94 feet. It is shewn by the dotted line in the plan, and a section is also given to convey a more distinct idea of its form.

Mr. Rolfe, with a view to ascertain the nature and purpose of this extraordinary structure, made excavations which extended from the 5th of September 1843, to the 25th of October following. He commenced at the centre of the east side, marked 1 in the plan, at the edge of the platform, and proceeded under the ledge formed by the excess of the width of the latter over the building below, and at the distance of about eight feet northward of the excavations mentioned above, reopened a kind of chamber, which at some unknown period had been cut in the soil, extending twelve feet from the edge of the platform to the substructure, and about five or six feet in width. He then worked a gallery under this edge, along the whole of the east and north sides, and to the extent of

eighty-six feet along the western side, in the expectation of finding some traces of a side entrance into the supposed chamber or chambers within. This gallery was cut five and a half feet deep, and three feet wide. Meeting, however, with nothing but uniform and compact masonry, Mr. Rolfe discontinued the gallery, and attempted to make an opening in the building at the spot marked 1 in the plan. With much labour, in consequence of the hardness of the masonry, the workmen made a hole, six feet wide, four feet six inches thick, and extending inwards twelve feet; but without succeeding in finding any traces of a chamber.

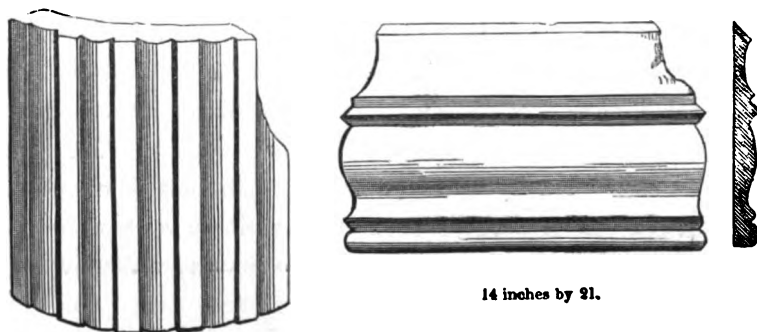
It is not improbable, as this opening was made near the top, that the workmen may have encountered some cross wall, or a thick vault; for it cannot be supposed that the building is a solid mass of masonry. As the south side, and the s.w. and s.e. angles were not excavated, it is possible that a doorway may yet be found. This subterranean work appears to be entirely constructed of flints and mortar, the latter possessing almost impenetrable solidity. No tiles were noticed, nor any of the various materials which enter into the composition of the walls of the castrum. The facing is entirely composed of boulders; that on the east and north sides is smooth and regular, as also is the n.w. angle; but on the western side, the boulders are irregular and rough. As remarkable a difference was also noticed by the workmen in the sand; on the east and north sides it was loose, indicating that to some distance from the walls it had been dug out, so as to give some room to the builders; but on the western side the sand was hard; and this circumstance, and the difference in the facing, seem to decide that the western side was first erected.

The depth of superficial earth in the angles of the eastern side

of the cruciform foundation, upon the platform, is two feet eight or ten inches; beneath this, and upon the surface of the platform, is a stratum of mortar, four or five inches thick, such as serves usually for tessellated pavements, to which purpose this had probably been applied. At each end of the platform, on the north side, is an aperture about four inches square. Both of these penetrate quite through the platform, and are coated with hard cement, to which wood was still adhering. Whether these perforations were intended for poles to support an awning, is a question, among others, in relation to this remarkable building, which must, at least for the present, remain unsolved. The popular notion, that the cruciform foundation upon the platform is the base of a cross, need scarcely be refuted: and the opinion that it may have supported a *pharos*, is equally untenable. There is more weight in the supposition that it may have been the site of a small chapel, especially as there is evidence of the existence of one within the castrum, at a period not very remote. But the materials incline us to attribute it to the Roman times, whatever may have been its use; and on the eastern side, towards the cliff, are, or recently were, the vestiges of walls certainly of medieval date, which may be considered as the remains of a chapel; and the adjoining spot, where the bones of skeletons may still be seen, is doubtless the site of a burial-place attached.

Mr. Boys, in notes accompanying his plans, in the possession of Mr. Rolfe, observes that "probably there was never any wall or other building erected on this platform, excepting the cross, which is composed of the same materials with some squared stones in the facings, and rises from three to four feet above the platform. In the s.e. angle, somebody, with infinite labour, has endeavoured

to penetrate into a supposed hollow there, but was obliged to desist on account of the hardness of the mortar, after however getting about two feet below the surface. I dug quite below the building, and got in about eleven feet underneath it. I found it to be like a solid rock, impenetrable by any instrument." He further states that the platform is covered over even to its very edge with a coat of mortar, and strewed with fragments of marble, some worked into mouldings, and others flat pieces bearing numeral letters. None of the latter kind were found during Mr. Rolfe's researches, but a specimen of the former was dug up on the north side of the platform, and a considerable quantity of broken pieces were subsequently discovered in the immediate vicinity of the castrum during the railway excavations. They are all in a fine white marble; some appear to have been portions of a



Width, 20 inches.

14 inches by 21.

skirting or possibly a cornice. Similar fragments have also been found towards the bank or cliff on the north-east side of the castrum, together with mural paintings. The abundance of worked marble shows that buildings of a superior description were enclosed

within the walls of the castrum. We may imagine the *prætorium* with its *sacellum* and offices, substantial quarters for the soldiers, and one or two public edifices ; but it would be useless to speculate on their arrangement in the almost total absence of available evidence, or from the descriptions of military camps left us by the ancient writers on castrametation. Nothing short of a very extensive and systematic excavation of the entire area would indeed enable us to decide what foundations of buildings may yet remain beneath the stratum of made earth, from three to four feet thick, which is spread over this extensive circumvallation. That the subterranean building was constructed for some extraordinary and important purpose, is obvious from the fact, that nothing at all analogous to it has been discovered at any of the Roman stations in this country, or, as far as can be ascertained, on the continent. It would therefore appear that this extensive and peculiar structure was built for some great public object connected with the locality, which, as has been already shown, was the chief line of transit to and from Britain. It may not, therefore, be unreasonable to suppose that a place of such strength and security may have served as an arsenal for arms and other military equipments ; and it may also have been used as a receptacle for provisions for the troops in emergencies, as well as a temporary and occasional storehouse for the corn, which, as we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xviii, cap. 1), was periodically transported out of Britain to Gaul and Germany.

Leland has left us a curious account of Richborough, which, although it does not satisfy the inquiries of antiquaries of the present day, furnishes some useful information on the place. In the time of Henry VIII, antiquities were not studied with the aid of

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system and science, otherwise the quick perception, taste, and good sense, of Leland, were adapted to render his valuable itinerary still more acceptable. He says :

" Ratesburgh, otherwise Richeboro, was or ever the river of Sture, did turn his botom or old canale withyn the isle of Thanet, and by lykelyhod the mayn se cam to the very foote of the castel. The mayn se ys now of it a myle by reason of wose (ooze) that hath there swollen up. The site of the old town or castel ys wonderful fair, upon an hille. The walles the wich remainy ther yet be in cumpase almost as much as the tower of London. They have been very hye, thykke, stronge, and well embateled. The mater of them is flynt, mervelus and long brykes both white and redde, after the Britons fascion. The sement was made of se sand and smaul pible. There is a great lykelyhod that the goodly hil abowte the castel, and especially to Sandwich ward, hath been wel inhabited. Corne groweth on the hille yn mervelus plenty, and yn going to plowgh ther hath owt of mynde [been] found, and now is, mo antiquities of Romaine mony than yn any place els of England. Surely reason spekethe that this should be *Rutupinum*. For byside that the name sumwhat toucheth, the very nere passage from Cales clyves or Cales was to Ratesburgh, and now is to Sandwich, the which is about a myle of ; though now Sandwich be not celebrated bycawse of Goodwine sandes, and the decay of the haven. Ther is a good flyte shot of fro Ratesburgh, toward Sandwich, a great dike caste yn arownd cumpas, as it had been for fens of menne of warre. The cumpace of the ground withyn is not much above an acre, and that is very holo by casting up the yerth. They cawle the place there *Lytleborough*. Within ye castel is a little parochie church of St. Augustine, and an heremitage. I had antiquities of the heremite, the which is an industrius man. Not far fro the heremitage is a cave wher men have sowl and digged for treasure. I saw yt by candel withyn, and there were conys. Yt was so straite that I had no mynd to crepe far yn. In the north side of the castel ys a hedde in the walle, now sore defaced with wether. They cawle it Quene Bertha hedde. Nere to that place, hard by the wal was a pot of Romaine mony fownd."¹

The little parish church mentioned by Leland, is recorded in the will of one Sir John Saunder, prebendary of Wingham, parson

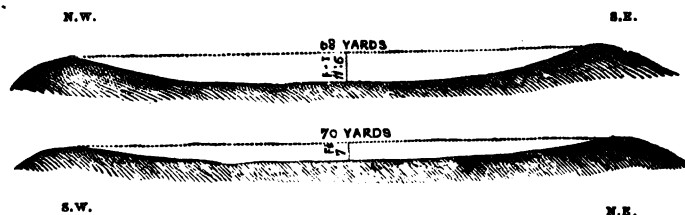
¹ Leland's Itinerary, by Hearne, vol. vii, p. 128.

of Dymchurch, and vicar of Ash. The document is dated A.D. 1509, and runs thus: "Item, I bequeath to the chappel of Richborough one portuys printed, with a mass-book which was Sir Thomas the old priest's. Item, to the use of the said chappel 20s. to make them a new window in the body of the church." The cave near the hermitage was probably the passage round the platform mentioned above; the workmen employed by Mr. Rolfe described it as terminating like a rabbit's burrow. The account which Leland gives of the quantity of Roman coins found at Richborough, is strikingly confirmed by the number collected during the last twenty or thirty years, from which the catalogue given in this volume has been compiled.

It is not improbable that, in the time of the Romans, the high ground to the west and south of the castrum was, in part at least, covered with buildings, the foundations of many of which, it may be expected, would be easily brought to light by trenching the land. "At the distance of thirty-seven yards," observes Mr. Boys in an unpublished note, "from the west wall, when the corn is growing, is constantly to be observed a track (L), leading from the cart-way (B) to the northward, towards the marshes. (See plan, p. 44.) I have dug across it, and found, about two feet under the surface, a great quantity of fragments of broken vessels, some of fine, ornamented pottery, and others of a coarser kind; flint, stone, and pieces of tiles. I do not think it has the appearance of a road, as there is nothing but mould to bind the fragments, and the fragments are large, and do not seem much pressed. I have two beautiful vessels almost complete, the fragments of which lay so nearly together, that I have no doubt, if my workmen had been careful, I might have got the whole of them. Coming on from

the wall towards the village, at the distance of about one hundred and two yards, in the same road, there runs off, at right angles, a ridge (M), about twelve paces broad, with a little hollow in the middle, leading southward, to the eastern side of the amphitheatre; and about thirty-nine yards further, is another track (N), pointing to the western side of the amphitheatre. I have not yet dug into either of these, but shall examine all of them carefully the ensuing summer. In this part of this field more coins have been found, and more fragments of materials for building are observed on the surface of the ground, than in any other place at Richborough, excepting the area within the walls." It does not appear that Mr. Boys ever put into execution his intention of examining these localities.

At the distance of about four hundred and sixty yards from the south-west angle of the castrum, are the remains of a castrensian amphitheatre, sections of which, with measurements, are given in the annexed cut. Agricultural operations have much reduced its



depth, and destroyed every trace of its original arrangement. On the south-eastern side, the foundations of a building of some kind would appear to be indicated by the stunted growth of the corn.

In the plain at the foot of the bank, about forty rods to the north of the castrum, a building was discovered, which, Mr. Boys

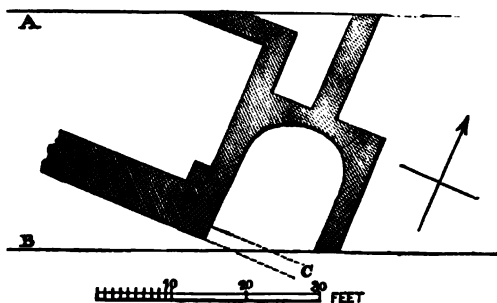
states, had the appearance of a wharf or landing-place. He describes it thus: "Its surface was a little way under ground; it was four feet high, of a triangular form; the sides nearly equal, of about ten feet each, one of them parallel with the bank, and its opposite angle projecting towards the sea. It was a shell of brick-work, two bricks thick, filled with earth; the two projecting sides tied together with a brace of the same materials. Two sorts of bricks or tiles were used in this building: one was 18 inches by 12, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick; the other, 17 inches by 11, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ thick."¹ The same writer also states, in evidence of the approach of the sea, at some former time, to the foot of Richborough hill, that, "in digging to lay the foundation of Richborough sluice, the workmen, after penetrating through what was once the muddy bed of the river that runs close by, in a more contracted channel than formerly, came to a regular sandy sea shore that had been suddenly covered with silt, on which lay broken and entire shells, oysters, sea-weeds, the purse of the thornback, a small shoe with a metal fibula in it, and some small human bones; all of them, except the last article, with the same appearance of freshness as such things have on the shore at this day."²

The recession of the sea from the low land between Thanet and Walmer, probably commenced at a period much earlier than has been commonly supposed. Roman remains, indicative of habitations, have been discovered in the sand-hills considerably to the

¹ These tiles were all purchased by a Mr. Ebenezer Mussel, of Bethnal-green, who employed them in paving a court-yard and part of his house there.

² It is to be regretted Mr. Boys did not leave us a sketch of the shoe and the fibula, as many of the medieval shoes have small circular fibulæ, or buckles, for fastening them over the instep; and, as he does not use the term *sandal*, a doubt may arise as to the period to which these remains should be referred.

north of Sandown Castle ; and coins have been found at Stonar, opposite to Richborough. In making the Ramsgate and Deal railway, in 1846, the workmen cut through the foundations of a Roman building at the foot of the hill, situate at the point of the termination of the cliff (shown in the upper cut on p. 33), a little above the present level of the marshes. Railway directors do not stop to explore Roman villas, and this building was not exempted from the prescribed fate of the most valuable remains of antiquity which stand in the line of march of the genius of speculation. The annexed cut will shew all that could be examined under the



unfavourable circumstances in which it was brought to light. A and B denote the railroad. The walls were composed of flints and tiles ; c is the direction of a wall of tiles, with a foun-

dation of chalk, two feet wide ; the rooms were paved with a thick layer of concrete. The remains were all well preserved ; and had research been instituted, or permitted, there is every reason to suppose the result would have added considerably to our materials illustrative of the ancient topography of this locality. Some very large squared stones, taken from the foundations, are preserved in the garden of Mr. Rolfe.

To provide a substructure for the railroad along the low ground in front of Richborough, excavations were made in the hill to the south of the castrum. (See the upper cut, p. 33.) The entire surface

of this hill, to the depth of from two to three feet, appears to be of made earth ; and the line of demarcation between the upper artificial stratum and the natural rock sand, is very clearly defined. During the operations, several wells or pits, of various depths and diameters, were laid open. They were filled with a dark rich mould, largely impregnated with animal and vegetable matter, in which were embedded portions of stags' horns, bones of the boar, sheep, goat, broken pottery of various kinds, and a variety of other remains, all more or less in an imperfect condition. It is impossible to consider these pits as other than refuse-holes ; and such also seems to have been the object of similar works so frequently met with in and near the sites of Roman towns and stations,—as Winchester, Chesterford, Springhead (near Gravesend), London, and many other places of Roman origin. The objects of art found in these pits are often curious and interesting. One of large size, opened in digging the foundations for the New Royal Exchange, contained, among accumulations of refuse matter of all sorts, knives, styli, and modelling tools in steel, in the most perfect preservation. This unusual instance of the preservation of a metal so disposed to corrode, was owing to the exclusion of atmospheric air by the moist, boggy soil which filled the pit. In dry situations, such as that of Richborough, implements and objects in iron are always found greatly oxydized. Some pits have been found recently at Ewell, in Surry, an interesting account of which has been communicated, by Dr. H. W. Diamond, to the Society of Antiquaries ;¹

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii, p. 461. The paper, unfortunately, is not properly illustrated. Some of the antiquities from the Ewell wells were of the rarest kinds, and the fictile vases presented many points of interest in relation to the state of Romano-British art.

and Pennant describes similar pits near Perth. Both Mr. Diamond and Pennant consider them to have been places of sepulture; but none of the former gentleman's arguments in support of the presumed sepulchral character of the Ewell wells, will in any way apply either to the Richborough pits, or to any to which I have referred.

The site of the Roman burial-place attached to Rutupisæ, has not yet been ascertained. Mr. Boys states that some urns were found, in his time, in a sandpit on the hill on the left hand of the road leading from the castle to the village; and the situation is such as would be likely to have been chosen for this purpose. Gough, King, and others, have imagined its site to be at Gilton, in the parish of Ash, which is at least a mile and a half from Richborough. They adopted this notion from the quantity of sepulchral remains found there, not considering that these interments are Saxon, and not Roman. It is rather singular that King, who quotes the *Nenia* of Douglas, did not perceive that one of the chief objects of that valuable work, is to demonstrate that the remains discovered at Gilton, which are therein so circumstantially described, and so well illustrated, are neither British, Roman, nor Romano-British, but early Saxon. Not only are the personal ornaments found in the graves at Ash, of a marked, distinctive character, peculiar to the Saxon epoch, but the weapons in iron, the long swords, the spears, and the knives, are all equally to be assigned to the early Saxon settlers, and never occur in Roman burial-places, while the Merovingian and early Saxon coins confirm this appropriation. The Roman coins, urns, and other objects of Roman fabrication, sometimes found with Saxon remains, do not prove an earlier date, but they tend to show that the Saxons

adopted many of the Roman customs and observances after the Roman forces were withdrawn from Britain. The influence of the religious practices of the Romans upon their Saxon successors, so strikingly exemplified in the graves of the latter, opens an interesting field of inquiry of no trifling historical importance, as it relates to a period in the annals of our country particularly destitute in authentic records.

We now proceed to describe the various remains which have been collected by Mr. Rolfe from Richborough, and are now preserved in his museum at Sandwich. They will be arranged under the several heads of fictile vessels, glass, personal ornaments, mural paintings, implements and utensils, animal remains, miscellaneous, and coins. Some of these divisions will necessarily require but a comparatively limited description, while others demand a fuller consideration; and the coins, from their collective historical importance and individual interest, will be as fully described as possible.



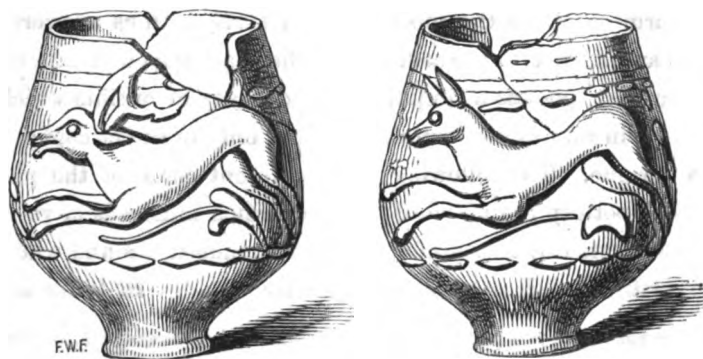
The above vignette, representing a *castellum*, or Roman fortified post, with its garrison, after a drawing in the Vatican Virgil, is from Mr. Rich's valuable *Illustrated Companion to the Latin Dictionary and Greek Lexicon*.

FICTILE VESSELS.

AMONG the most remarkable productions of ancient art may be classed the various kinds of vases formed of clay. Upon this common and abundant material in the great storehouse of nature, the ancients lavished all the pains which their skill and genius could supply to mould it into elegant shapes, and adorn it with all kinds of pictorial representations of objects of real life and creations of the imagination. The manufactory of pottery with the Etruscans, the Greeks, and the Roman, was carried to a degree of perfection which has not been equalled in modern times, with all the advantages which science has afforded. Nothing can exceed the beauty of form and brilliancy of colour of the painted vases from the tombs of Greece and Etruria, covered with subjects of history, tradition, and fable, as fresh as when they left the hand of the artist, exercising, at the present day, the learning of the scholar, gratifying the man of taste, and furnishing models for our manufacturers. Some conception may be formed of the extent and variety of a single series of these vases, when it is asserted, that it would be an easy task to illustrate the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* from the pictures with which they are decorated. The Roman fictile vases are not less historically and artistically interesting; while they possess an additional charm, in being connected with, or com-

prised among, the antiquities of our own country. In them we recognize the prototypes of an almost infinite variety of urns, drinking cups, dishes for the daily food, and other vessels for common domestic uses, which stood in every cottage and villa in Roman Britain; many of which, it is now well known, were fabricated from the clay of our native land.

It is curious, in the abundant examples of this useful art which are still daily brought to light at our very doors, to trace the footsteps of the Roman potters in widely-separated localities, to witness the diligence and perseverance with which they sought out the most eligible districts, to follow their course along the banks of rivers, in search of new beds of clay, to discover the *debris* of their potteries covering many consecutive miles, and even to examine the kilns themselves, and, from their construction and contents, to learn not only the modes of manufacturing, but also the peculiar varieties of pottery which were made in them. Thus are we enabled, at a glance, to appropriate particular classes of fictile ware to distinct and ascertained localities, and to decide what is of



Half original size.

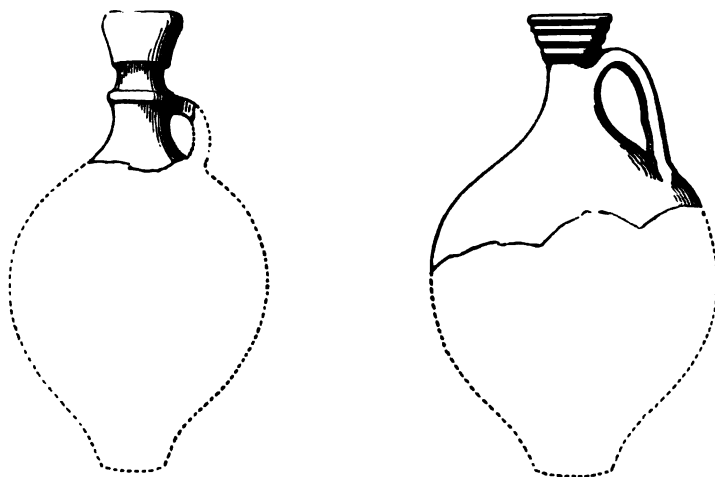
home and what is of foreign manufacture. For instance, when such as the cuts on the preceding page represent, are met with, we refer their parentage to Northamptonshire, a quantity of similar and analogous specimens having been discovered in that county on the sites of potteries, while these peculiar kinds are not found in other districts where different varieties were chiefly manufactured.¹ In the group below we identify another class, of equally marked



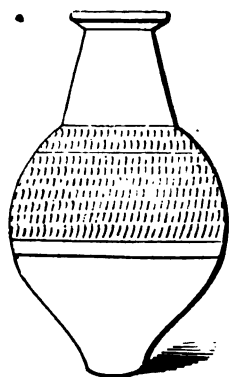
character, of which an immense quantity of fragments strew the Upchurch marshes, on the banks of the Medway, the site also of extensive potteries.

One of the chief points of distinction between the ancient and modern fictile productions, is the superior beauty and elegance of the former. Even the most common sorts, such as answered in place and service to the ordinary earthenware jugs and cups of the present day, possess a simplicity and delicacy of outline which we look for in vain in our own ware, or find only in direct copies from the antique. The following cuts represent some of the plainer sorts of pottery from Richborough, of which hundreds of varieties were collected by Mr. Rolfe ; and which, indeed, abound wherever the vestiges of Roman habitations are found. In these simple

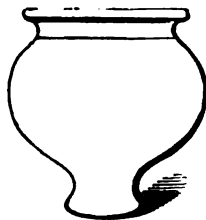
¹ See vol. i, p. 1, et seq. of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* ; and vol. ii, p. 133, of the same work.



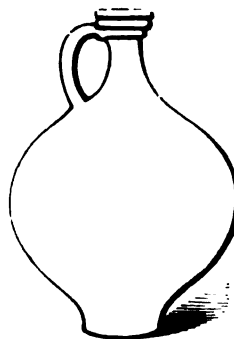
Vases of yellow clay, each 9 inches high.



Black earth.
Height, 7 in.; diameter, 4½.



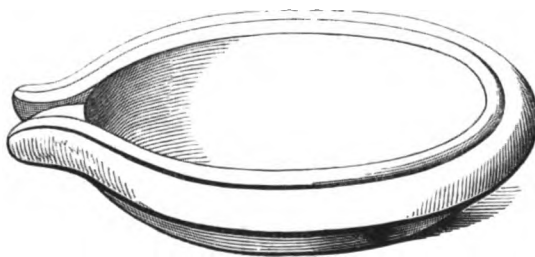
Light earth, with dark brown glaze.
Height, 3 in.; diameter, 3 in.



Yellow earth.
Height, 7 in.; diam. 3.

forms, and in the various grades progressing towards styles of higher art, of elaborate ornament and complex work, which in such profusion are still met with, the eye is never offended by bad taste, it never detects instances of positive inelegance or ugliness. In similar works of Saxon art, though they are comparatively rare, the Roman influence may be traced ; but in the Norman and English productions, harmony of design and beauty of form give way to a total change in conception and in workmanship, as universally bad and degraded as the productions of preceding ages were correct and tasteful. The philosophic antiquary, who, in the meanest work of the hand of man, reads, to a certain extent, the mind which guided it, may speculate how far the one may illustrate the other, and, comparing the rude jugs and platters of the middle ages with the Roman *simpulum* and *patera*, sees as great a difference as between the sober history of Tacitus and the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth, or between the versification of a poetical monk and the odes of Horace.

The next example of the fictile ware found at Richborough, is of a class to which the term *mortaria* has been assigned. They are



Mortarium of yellow clay, 14 inches from spout to back ; 4 inches deep.

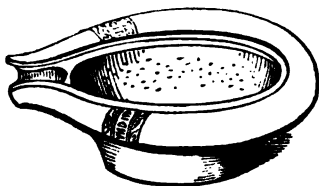
bason or pan-shaped, and vary in capacity from a pint to a gallon.

Vessels of this peculiar description are met with in great abundance, and must therefore have been in common service for domestic purposes. They frequently present the appearance of having been used with mullers or pestles, for triturating substances not requiring much force, such as the hard kind of vegetables; and, from this circumstance, have been called *mortaria*, though the correct application of the term to these vessels is questionable. They bear marks, also, of having been used on the fire, the bottoms being often worn away, apparently from the joint operation of fire and the rotatory motion of a spoon or muller. They occur in clays of various colour, the white or straw-colour being the most common, and they are usually impressed with the maker's name on the rim. Mr. Artis has traced the manufacture of these vessels to certain parts of Northamptonshire. In one of the interesting communications which he made to the British Archæological Association,¹ he says: "On the 22nd of May (1846) I commenced excavating in a field at Stibbington, called 'the Coney-graves', also the property of the Duke of Bedford. Here were discovered two more potters' kilns, one for firing mixed ware, and the other a smother-kiln² of much larger dimensions than the two former. The variety of pottery found in these kilns was quite astonishing. Specimens of the broad, shallow vessels termed 'mortaria' were obtained, different from any I had previously seen; one of the most remarkable of which was of a drab-pink, or fawn colour. There were also smother-kiln mortaria, quite new, in the Durobrivian district; also mixed and natural bodies of white stone-ware mortaria,

¹ Vol. ii, p. 166.

² This term is used by Mr. Artis to distinguish a peculiar kind of kiln, contrived to give a blue-black or slate colour to the pottery, by suffocating the fire

Anglo-Samian coloured ware, a great variety of bottles of various colours, ornamented with white slip scrolls and running devices of various kinds", etc. The surface of the interior of these mortaria is often studded with small siliceous stones, broken quartz, and scoria of iron, evidently to counteract the effects of constant attrition. The example shown in the annexed cut is singular in the



material, which is clay kneaded with about one-third of tile broken small, and cleared from dust, and impressed with small white siliceous stones; it was found in London. The potters' names on the Richborough mortaria

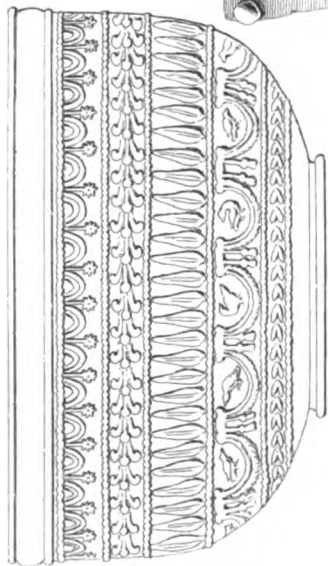
are ALBINVS and Q. VALERIVS. VERANIVS.

Among the fictile vessels dug up during the railway cutting before alluded to, may be mentioned fragments of *amphoræ*, or wine jars, a class of vessels used chiefly for wine in store. They are of two descriptions: the one globular, with short neck; the other high and narrow, with long neck; both have a handle on each side of the neck, and terminate in a point at the bottom, for fixing them in the ground, and they vary in capacity from four to eight gallons. None of these were found perfect, but numerous broken pieces were among the contents of the pits in the hill to the south of the castrum.

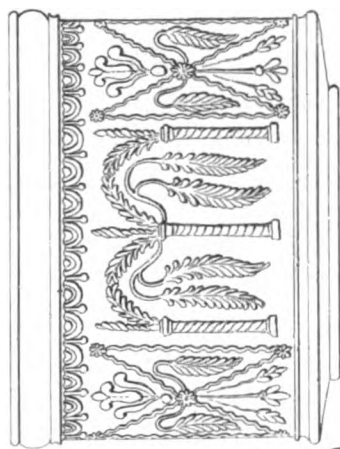
A numerous and elegant class of earthenware vessels next demands our attention, and claims a more extended description and a larger supply of illustrations. It is known to archaeologists by the name of "Samian",—a term which, although it be of more than questionable propriety as thus applied, has become generally

of the kiln. The specimens from the Upchurch marshes, given in p. 60, were coloured by this process.

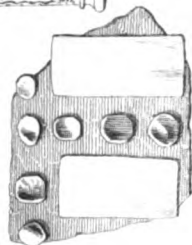
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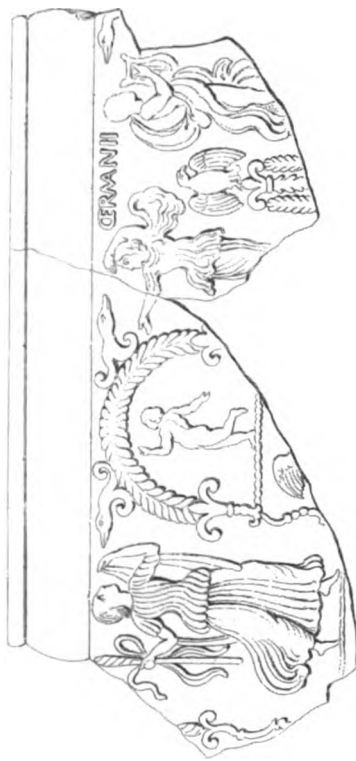
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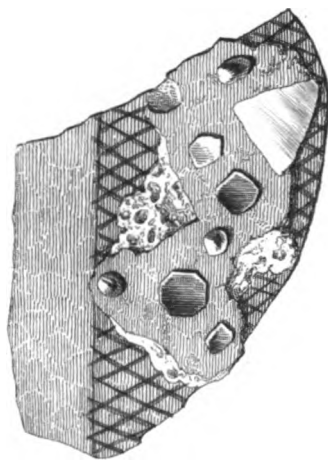
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5



Drawn & Engraved by J. W. P. Smith & Co. S.A.

SAMIAN VASES, ETC., FOUND AT RICHBOROUGH.

accepted, and need not here be disturbed. It is chiefly distinguished from all other kinds of ancient pottery discovered in England and on the continent, by a red or coral-colour glaze, covering uniformly the internal and external superficies; the body of the material being of a paler red, of compact texture, slightly porous, and sonorous when struck. The colouring matter was imparted to these vases by oxides of lead and iron. Three specimens of the ornamented ware from the Richborough collection, are given in pl. III, figs. 1, 2, and 3.

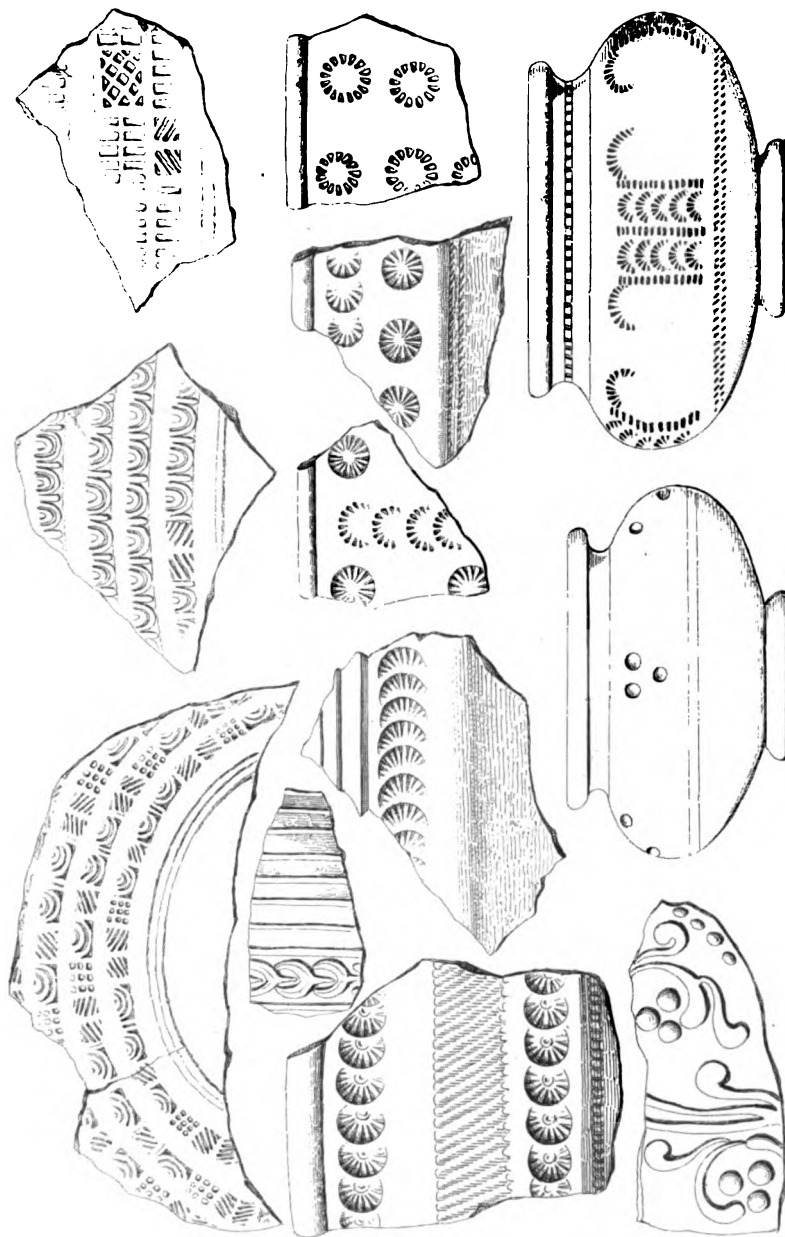
These Samian vessels have of late years engaged the attention of antiquaries both in England and on the continent, and the several points of interest they present, fully justify the pains bestowed in researches on their history and manufacture. Next to glass, the richly-embossed varieties, such as are exhibited in our book, must have occupied a foremost place on the domestic board in Britain, Gaul, Germany, and Spain; and, like the modern china and other superior kinds of earthenware, were deemed, when broken, too valuable to be thrown away; for we often find them ingeniously repaired with melted lead, in the form of cramps. The plain varieties are frequently discovered, sparingly mixed with other vases and urns, in sepulchral deposits; but the embossed kinds more rarely, and seldom perfect. On the site of Roman London alone we have collected several hundred varieties in shape and ornamentation, and upwards of three hundred different potters' names; while Colchester, York, Exeter, Caerleon, Chesterford, and other places, have furnished numerous and interesting examples, and most of the continental museums possess a considerable number. They have, for many years, been dredged up by oyster-fishers, in a locality between Whitstable and Margate, called (probably from this

circumstance) the Pan-sand, or Pudding-pan Rock ; and theories have been put forth to account for their being thus found. It has been supposed by some, that a vessel laden with Samian ware may have foundered ; by others, that they suggest the notion of a pottery having been submerged. As the sea has made extensive inroads upon this coast, it is more than probable that the locality which furnishes them was formerly dry ground ; but it must be owned neither of these theories seems altogether satisfactory. We have certainly no authority for supposing the Samian pottery was manufactured in Britain ; while, as before stated, we have positive proof that many other descriptions of earthenware are of home parentage. Moreover, recent discoveries made on the continent, which will be presently referred to, seem to decide the question in favour of their importation into this country.

The designs with which these vessels are ornamented, include a



Height, 5 inches ; diameter, 9 inches.



Drawn & engraved by F.W. Earhart, F.S.A.

IRYAN POTTERY DISCOVERED AT RICHMOND

wide range of subjects of a popular character, such as field sports, combats of gladiators and wild beasts, deities and their emblems, bacchantes, and scenes illustrative of ancient mythology: plants, trees, flowers, and foliage, are represented on others, sometimes in simple, graceful scrolls, sometimes in combination with birds

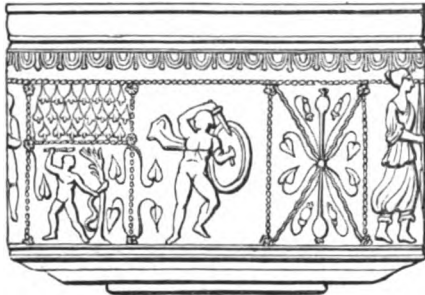


Half actual size.

and beasts, and complex ornaments. Upon these vases, in short, were pictured scenes of every-day life, and the images of social and religious customs and observances familiar from childhood to the Roman in his native country. Upon the Rutupine coast, and upon the Caledonian hills, such reminiscences of home, we may well conceive, added in no slight degree to the comfort of the soldier's domestic life; and while the potter's hand provided the receptacle for his daily food, it also furnished many a theme to revive old impressions and associations, and supplied illustrations to the tales of home, its traditions, and its history.

Many of the figures and groups which enrich the Samian vases are unquestionably copies of some of the great masterpieces of

Greek and Roman art of well-known celebrity; and others, not so easy of identification, may be supposed to represent statues or paintings which, famous in their day, have long since perished; such may have been the prototype of the warrior in the centre of

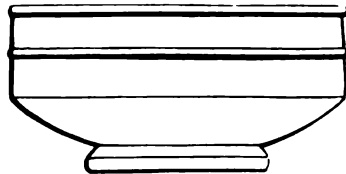


Height, 5 inches; diameter, 6 inches.

the vase delineated in the annexed cut. The group of Jupiter and Leda, on a vase found in the Roman villa at Hartlip, Kent,¹ is in treatment so precisely similar to the well-known sculpture at Rome, that no doubt can arise as to the source of the potter's representation;

while we have the Farnese Hercules, the Apollo Belvidere, and the Venus de' Medici, repeated, with more or less skill, on other vases.

The potters' names are usually stamped, in a label, across the bottoms of the Samian vessels, particularly those of the saucer and cup-shape; on the embossed bowls the name often occurs on the exterior, as in fig. 3, pl. III. Those found at Richborough are as follow:—



Samian. Height, 4 in.; diameter, 6 in.

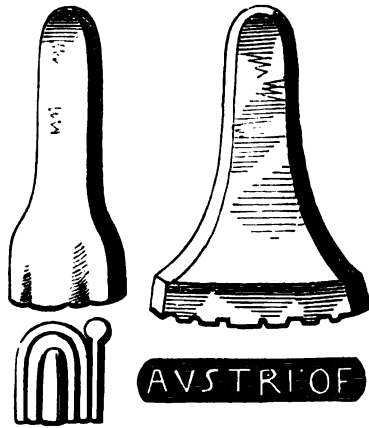
| | | |
|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| AESTIVI . M. | AVRICV . F. | OF . CALVI. |
| AMICI . M. | BILICAT. | CINNAMI |
| ATTILLI . M. | BYOCIO. | DIVIXTI |
| AVITVS . F. | OF . BYRILINDI. | DRAVCI . M. |

¹ Collectanea Antiqua, vol. ii.

| | | |
|--------------|------------------|---------------|
| ELVILLI. | MASCL. | QVINTI . M. |
| FELICIS . O. | MERCYSSA . M. | REGALIS . F. |
| OF . FELIC. | OF . NIGE. | SABINI . M. |
| GERMANI . F. | OF . PATRICI. | SABINVS . F. |
| HABILIS . F. | PIINTII . MANV. | SA'ARTI. (?) |
| IANVARI. | PRIM. | OF . SEVERI. |
| IVLII . MA. | OF . PRIM. | SENILA . M. |
| LVGETO . FE. | PRIMVL. | SILVINI. |
| MALCIO. | C . IVL . PR.... | OF . VITALIS. |

Most of these stamps have been found likewise at other places ; and to the London list only the names of *Amicus*, *Auricus*, *Buccius*, *Burilindus*, *Lugeto*, and *Pentius*, are new.¹

Many of the names occurring on the Samian pottery are obviously those of Gauls and Germans, as reference to a more complete catalogue would fully show ; and while, as before observed, no traces of potters' kilns for the manufacture of this ware have been found in England, discoveries have been made in the south of France, and at Rheinzabern and other localities on the Rhine, which decide beyond doubt, that the Romans in Gaul and in Germany, with their allies in those countries, there manufactured the so-called Samian pottery, and exported it to Britain. M. Brogniart has published one of the stamps for marking the vessels, a mould for the circular frieze, and also a fragment of a



¹ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i, p. 150.

mould for vases with figures in relief, which were dug up at Lezouz, in Auvergne, upon the site of an ancient manufactory.¹ The two first are copied in the foregoing cut. This name (AUSTRIOR) has also been found in London. The late Mr. Artis presented me with a cast from a fragment of another mould, given him by M. Brogniart, stamped with the name *Cobnertus*; which, he stated, had been found in France. Not only has the same name been discovered in London, but the type is so precisely identical, that it must have either been cast in this mould, or in a similar one made for this potter. M. Brogniart also mentions moulds found at Luxembourg. Kilns have been found in the valley of the Bruche (Bas-Rhine), and near them a considerable quantity of pottery, figured, and marked with the names of the makers. It so closely resembled some found at Saverne, near Strasburg, that the specimens from the two places were pronounced to have been cast in the same moulds.²

M. Schweighæuser, in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries of France, in 1840, describes at length, and gives a plan of, a Roman potter's kiln found below the village of Heiligenberg, in the valley of the Bruche, about three miles from Mutzig, where, in past times, several kilns or furnaces had been disinterred. It was laid open during the repairing of the road to Donon and Luneville. Near the furnace of the kiln was found a large quantity of fragments of vases, and a small lump of clay prepared for their fabrication, but which had not been subjected to the fire. Its colour was not of so deep a red as that of the baked vases. Upwards of sixteen moulds for the vases, ornamented with bas-

¹ *Traité des Arts Céramiques*, tome i, p. 424; *Atlas*, planche, xxx.

² *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, tome v, pl. LI.

reliefs, were discovered. With one exception, they were adapted for casting the vessels in one entire piece, the shrinking of the clay during desiccation sufficing to disengage the vessels from the moulds. The potters' names, M. Schweighæuser thinks, were formed with moveable types, joined together in the same manner as those used by bookbinders for stamping the titles of books on the covers; and this, he considers, would account for the letters being frequently reversed and misplaced,—an occurrence not so likely to happen had the letters been engraved upon a single piece. Many of the moulds have inscriptions running round them: an arrangement which, having to be adapted to a concave surface, could not have been effected, he conceives, but by moveable types. These circular inscriptions, of which no example has been recorded as met with in our country, are votive, and show that the moulds had served to form vessels destined as offerings at the shrines of local divinities. On one we read: DEO CESONIO EX VOTO POSVT (*sic*) PATERNVSO. On another: SILVANO TE TEOSERVVS FITACIT EX VOTOR; (*sic*.) A third gives to Mercury the singular epithet of TOORENCE-TANO; and another mould has these three votive inscriptions placed one above the other. The second is repeated, with slight variations, on several small altars in terra cotta. The potters of this district were not merely skilful workmen, but they were likewise good artists. Besides vases, all of which are of elegant and graceful form, and richly adorned with well-designed bas-reliefs, they also fabricated large bas-reliefs in terra cotta; altars with figures in alto-relievo; lamps of various forms, decorated with busts of deities and other designs; small statues representing divinities, warriors, animals, etc.



Terra cot. 4 in. high.
Richborough.

The potteries for the manufacture of the Samian ware seem to have been very numerous and flourishing along the banks of the Rhine, particularly at Rheinzabern, the *Tabernæ* of Ausonius and of the itinerary of Antoninus ; and at Heiligenberg. A little to the south of the latter place, near Andlau, a large quantity of fragments have been found, described as of extraordinarily fine workmanship. On the other bank of the Rhine, at Rigel, near Fribourg, numerous vases have been found, as well as at Augst ; but all these discoveries seem eclipsed by those made at Mans and at Luxembourg.¹ For examples of the chief varieties, as well as the more remarkable Samian vessels, and for an extended disquisition on the subject, the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. iv, the *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i, and the *Archæological Album*, may be consulted.

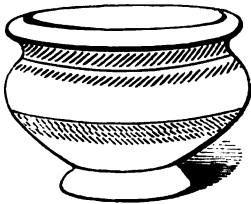
We proceed to describe specimens of other classes of earthenware found at Richborough. Fig. 5, in pl. III, represents a fragment of a very singular vase found in the subterranean passage leading to the north-east corner of the platform mentioned in page 43. It is partly covered with a yellow vitreous mass, in which are embedded common white crystals and bits of mother-of-pearl ; beneath the crystals is a tint of pink, to give the effect of garnets to them. Fig. 4 is a detached piece of this crust, in which the ornaments are more regularly disposed. It reminds us of the cups set with gems (*calices gemmati*), often alluded to by ancient writers, and of which it possibly may have been intended as a rude and humble imitation :

" Ipse capaces
Heliadum crustas et inæqualeis beryllo
Virro tenet phialas."—JUVENAL, *Sat.* v, l. 37.

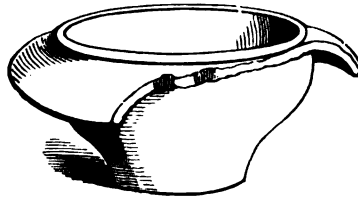
¹ Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, tome xvii, p. 36.

Plate IV exhibits fragments of vases in red clay, chiefly ornamented with patterns incuse. They are all of great rarity, and most probably of provincial manufacture; but I have never seen a perfect specimen of either. The ornamentation of those in the uppermost row somewhat resembles the patterns on urns of inferior material and work, which, from the circumstances under which they have been found, must be appropriated to the latest Roman period, or even to the early Saxon time. The fragment on the left, in the lowest row, has a raised foliage ornament in white slip, and may be classed with the similar pottery found in the kilns in Northamptonshire.

To the class resembling the Samian, but in clay of paler red,

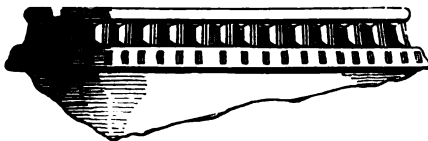


Red earth. Height, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.; diam. 4 in.

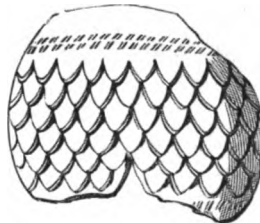


Red clay. Height, 3 in.; diam. $3\frac{1}{4}$.

approaching to a yellow, belong the vases here represented, and also the fragment of a pan-shaped vessel, somewhat analogous to



Fragment in red earth, 7 inches across.



4 inches across.

L

the *mortaria* before described. The fragment shewn in the last preceding cut is of a thin light clay, with a dark brown glaze, and is of uncommon occurrence, except in a broken state.

We close this division of the Richborough antiquities with the fragments of two vessels, of brown clay, ornamented with female heads. A specimen of a similar kind, in fine red clay, found in a Saxon grave at Canterbury, is in Mr. Rolfe's museum; and two others are in my own collection, found in a grave in the Roman cemetery at Spitalfields, placed, one at the head, and one at the feet, of a skeleton. Allusions to drinking-vessels thus ornamented



Each, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches across.

are not uncommon in ancient writers, and especially such as bore heads of a ludicrous or grotesque character. These vases were the prototypes of the ill-shaped medieval vessels with uncouth and shapeless forms, in which the whimsical and eccentric taste of the ancients is parodied, without any attempt to imitate their beautiful designs and general good taste.

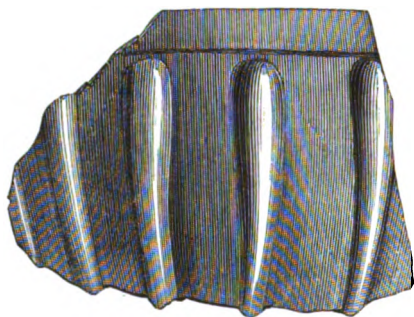
G L A S S.

The perfection to which the art of glass-making attained among the ancients, cannot be conceived by those who have not examined the beautiful works which have been preserved in our public and private museums and collections. Evincing, beyond most human inventions, the industry and ingenuity of man, the fabrication of glass is the more astonishing when we reflect on the materials from which it is formed, and the time and skill that must have been expended ere they were combined by art, and adapted to the daily use of nations widely separated, by time and place, from each other. The well-known story told by Pliny, of the accidental discovery of glass, is, as Mr. Apsley Pellatt observes,¹ supported by the fact, that it is scarcely possible to excite a fire of sufficient heat for metallurgical operation, without vitrifying part of the bricks or stones of the furnace. In the face of abundant evidence furnished by ancient writers, and the no less abundant corroborative proof supplied by existing remains, it is remarkable that the knowledge of the ancients in glass-making should have been so long and so generally disputed. This popular error must now be considered as dispelled, for we have before our eyes examples which prove that modern science has added comparatively little to what was practised in this useful and elegant art thousands of years ago. Passing over, with brief reference, the paintings at Beni-Hassan, mentioned by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, representing glass-blowers at work, we may refer to the Roman productions which are accessible to all,—the celebrated Portland vase in the

¹ *Curiosities of Glass-making.* London : 1849.

British Museum, the amphora-shaped vase exhumed at Pompeii,¹ the extraordinary collection in the museum of Boulogne, and to our private museums in London, as attesting the wide range taken by the ancients in the various manipulatory processes of the art.

Pliny states that, in his time, the manufacturing of glass had extended to Spain and Gaul; and, from these countries were probably imported most of the glass vessels, and ornaments in glass, discovered in England. The large cinerary urns of green glass so frequently found in Roman burial-places, and the graceful vessels in white and in coloured glass, excite the admiration even of Mr. Apsley Pellatt, whose scientific attainments and good taste sanction his judgment; and he alludes to the difficulties which the modern glass-maker would have to surmount in executing



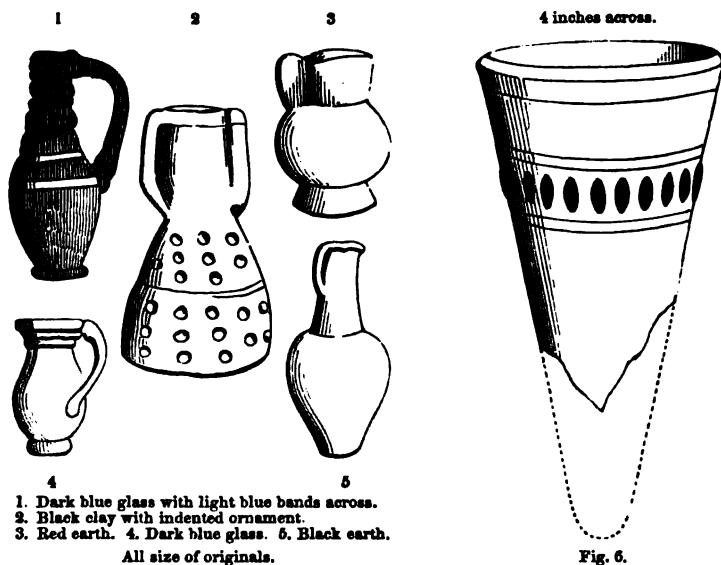
Glass. Half actual size.

many of them. Among those which this gentleman specifies as involving particular skill in moulding, is a class ornamented with projecting pillars, of which several, in green, blue, and in mixed colours, have been found in London and at Richborough.

A fragment from the latter place is here shown. Pillar-moulding, Mr. Pellatt observes, is among the greatest modern improvements in glass-making, and was supposed to be a modern invention; but he cites these specimens to demonstrate that it is merely a revival of a lost ancient art.

¹ Skilfully engraved and coloured in Mr. Apsley Pellatt's work.

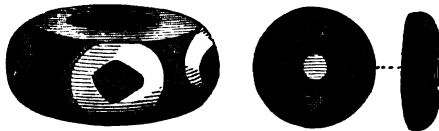
It is very probable that some of the specimens of ancient glass brought from Thebes and other places in Egypt, may be of Greek or Roman manufacture. Many of them closely resemble authenticated Roman examples. To determine this point, the utmost caution is required in ascertaining and verifying the circumstances under which they are found. The group of miniature vessels from Richborough, exhibited in the annexed engraving, are composed of glass and of clay,—figs. 1 and 4 being of the former material; fig. 1 is of a dark blue colour, with hands in white enamel. It resembles fig. 4, pl. II, in Mr. Pellatt's work, which was brought from Thebes. Fig. 4 is also of dark blue. All the objects in this group were probably children's toys.



The next example which the Richborough discoveries afford us,

(fig. 6), is peculiarly interesting. It is of the description of libatory vessels, termed by the ancients *futile*, and originally adapted for the sacred ceremonies in the worship of Vesta, to preserve the holy water from close contact with the ground, and from application to other purposes. Mr. Rich, in his *Illustrated Companion to the Latin Dictionary*, gives an engraving of one of these rare vessels, which was found at Rome. It seems identical in shape and ornamentation with that from Richborough. In ours, the body is a fine white glass; the ovals which form the encircling band are blue. To this example may be traced the origin of the form of the funnel-shaped Saxon cups or tumblers, ornamented with spiral, wavy, and zigzag threads of glass, affixed to their external surface when in a molten state, many of which have been found in Saxon graves in Kent.¹

The annexed cut represents a blue glass bead, with white enamel, and a button, or stud, the body of which is a dark blue; the central dot, red; and the other four, light blue. A considerable quantity of such studs, but chiefly in plain white and blue glass, are found, with sepulchral remains, on the site of a Roman burial-ground near Boulogne.



The beads which are discovered in England and on the continent, on the sites of Roman towns and cemeteries, exhibit a very large variety in form and

¹ Numerous examples of Roman glass vessels found near Boulogne, are figured in vol. 1 of the *Collectanea Antiqua*, while in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* may be found engravings of several Saxon, as well as Roman, specimens found in this country.

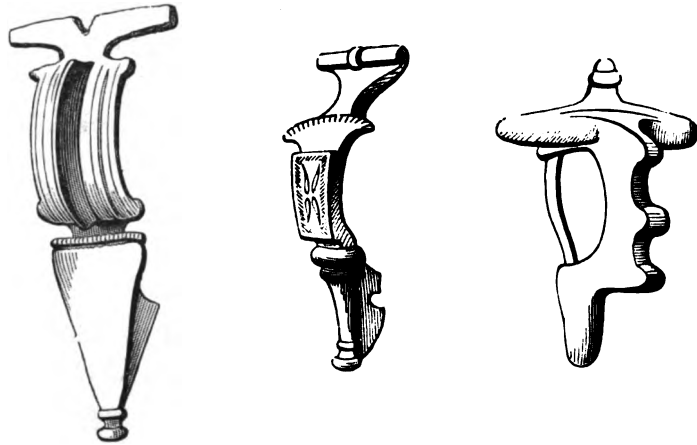
colour. The commonest kind are imperfectly vitrified and ribbed, of a pale blue colour; but the same type occurs in a fine dark blue glass. Others are of compound colours, the shades of which are exquisitely blended together, and sometimes interspersed with streaks of opaque colours in wavy lines, or in straight shafts; and some, of rarer occurrence, resemble the modern French *mille-fiore* glass.

PERSONAL ORNAMENTS.

The most numerous objects in this section of the Richborough antiquities, are *fibulæ*, or brooches; by the latter of which appellations, the construction and use of these ancient ornamental fastenings of the dress will be easily understood; for the modern brooch is formed precisely upon the same principle as its archetype, the fibula, the application of each being to secure the dress by means of a sharp pin shifting into a catch. The fibulæ were commonly used to fasten loose drapery upon the breast or upon the shoulder; and were constructed of various materials, but more commonly of bronze, silver, and gold. Those which are found in England and in France, are chiefly in bronze, either plain or enamelled, and afford a very great variety of patterns. Many of these are bow-shaped, occasionally silvered, and sometimes tastefully worked with coloured pastes; others are in the form of animals.

Three bow-shaped fibulæ are represented in the following page. The first has had, apparently, a band of enamel, which has perished. It is rather remarkable, that, while the circular fibula frequently

appears as a prominent appendage to the costume, in coins, sculpture, and other works, no instance occurs of the other various



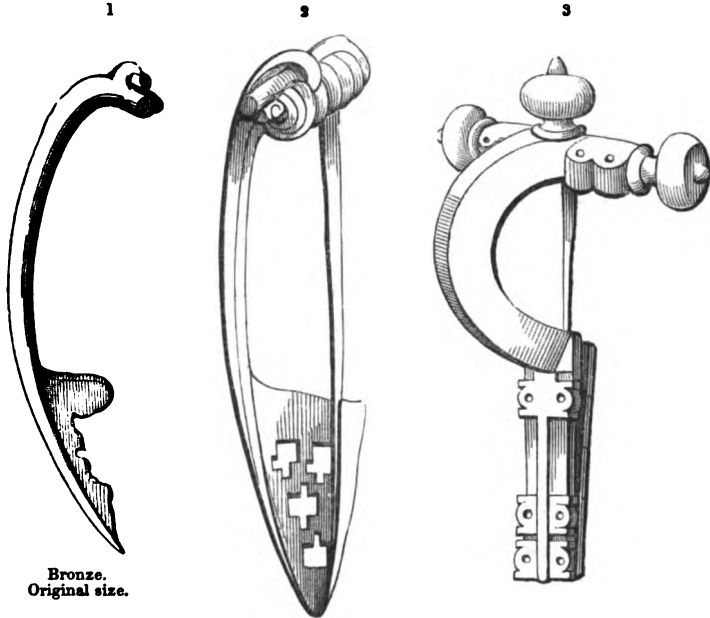
Bronze Fibulae. Size of the originals.

forms which we meet with in such profusion ; and the same remark may be applied to the Saxon and Norman costume. It may be, that the circular fibulae were better adapted for the introduction of gems and enamel, and were, moreover, considered more elegant. The original form of the fragment in the following cut (fig. 1), is shewn by the perfect specimen in the possession of Mr. Crafter, which was found in a Roman burial-place near Shorne, in Kent. A variety of this type, in silver, was found in the course of excavations for the Ely and Peterborough railway.¹

The fibulae represented above, are such as were commonly used by the Romans. Persons of distinction of both sexes adorned themselves with more costly and elegant varieties, such as we often see on statues, and particularly on the coins and medals of

¹ Archæological Journal, vol. v, p. 219.

the later emperors, where they conspicuously appear, set with stones, and jewels, and pendant ornaments. In earlier times, these rich brooches seem to have been restricted to the patrician order.



The emperor Hadrian, as Spartianus informs us, wore neither gold on his belt, nor gems in his fibulæ. Pollio mentions, among the gifts bestowed by Valerian upon Claudius Gothicus, when military tribune, two silver-gilt fibulæ, and a gold fibula with a copper pin; and Vopiscus states that the emperor Aurelian, among other alterations which he introduced, ordered that the common soldiers should wear gold instead of silver fibulæ, saying that gold was more abundant in nature than silver. The statement of the latter historian is somewhat at variance with the inferred rarity

M

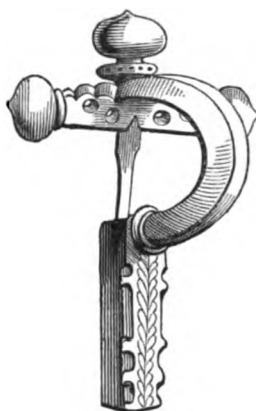
of these ornaments in the precious metals, from the passage in Pollio, unless we may conceive that luxury in dress had obtained a rapid prevalence in the Roman army. Fibulæ, from early times, were among the presents bestowed either for military valour, or as testimonies of private affection. Suetonius mentions, that the presents given to Tiberius by Pompeia, were a chlamys and fibula, and two gold bullæ, which, the historian adds, were preserved and shown at Baïæ.

There is a gold fibula in the British Museum, found, a few years since, at Odiham, in Hampshire, which closely resembles the specimen in bronze from Richborough given in fig. 3 of the preceding cuts.¹ The pin of the former, which was probably of perishable metal, is wanting; such is often the case with the gold Saxon fibulæ, the pins of which, having been of iron, are generally quite consumed by the action of atmospheric air, and the moisture of the earth. Several fibulæ of this peculiar form have been found in England and in France. One of the most remarkable of these is figured in the *Recueil d'Antiquités* of Count Caylus, tom. i, pl. xciv, fig. viii. It is inscribed, on one side of the bow, DOMINE. MARTI. VIVAS, and on the other, VTERE. FELIX.; and was found, with skeletons and urns, on the site of a Roman cemetery at Anières, on the Seine. The cruciform shape, and other peculiarities of workmanship, induce me to consider these fibulæ as not earlier than the fourth or fifth century, and to recognize in them the transition link from the late Roman to the early Saxon cruciform bronze fibulæ. Another example, found at Kenchester near Hereford, is given, in the

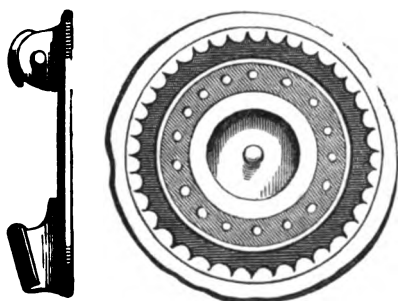
¹ The Odiham fibula was communicated by Mr. Birch to the Canterbury Congress of the British Archæological Association. See *Archæological Journal*, vol. ii, p. 46.

annexed cut, to compare with ours from Richborough.

As before observed, none of the ancient statues, coins, and illuminations, represent the fibula otherwise than circular,—the form of the richer varieties known to us, whether Roman or Saxon. One only of this class is found in the Richborough collection. It is worked in blue, green, and white enamel. The art of enamelling seems to have been quite as well understood by the Romans, as that of glass-making; and some of the vitreous pastes used in their decorations



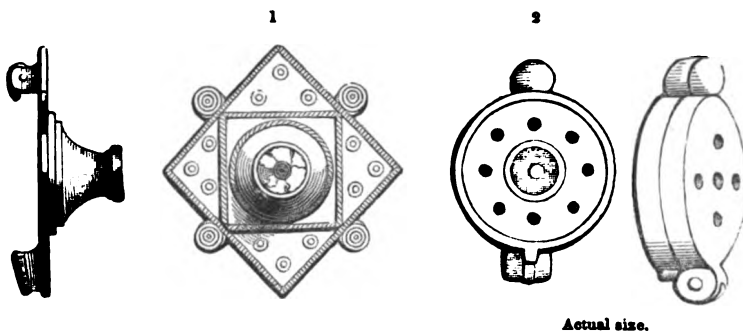
Found at Kenchester.



Enamelled fibula. Richborough.

of ornaments, vases, and cases for the toilette, still retain their colour, and attest alike the metallurgical and artistic skill of the manufacturers. The celebrated enamelled vase discovered in the funeral mound at Bartlow, in Essex, and minor works in our public and private museums, sufficiently prove that enamelling, in the middle ages, was only a more extensive application, or revival, of an art which had decayed without being extinguished. In enamelling, as in all the medieval works of art, whatever is elegant and graceful in design, or skilful in workmanship, may be imitation, more or less clever, of ancient tastes and processes. The neat, and somewhat elegant fibula, exhibited in the following engraving

(fig. 1), has also been enamelled in the centre of the projecting boss, with a white vitreous paste.



We may here introduce a small enamelled bronze box, or locket, perforated at the bottom, and constructed like our *vinai-grettes*. In fig. 2 of the above cuts, it is shewn in two views: that on the left hand represents the bottom; that on the right, the enamelled top. I possess a specimen very similar to this, which was found in London, besides two others of oblong shape. Penant,¹ who thinks they were designed to hold charms, has published two, one of which (of diamond shape) exhibits holes, like the Richborough example, in the under side; intended, as he conceives, that the contents should transpire, and reach the object of fascination. We learn from Macrobius, that remedies against envy were enclosed in the *bullæ*, which were worn suspended from the neck; and such may have been the use of some of the lockets referred to. It is probable they were also used for perfumes. A specimen, in the form of a heart, found at Reculver, will be found in another division of this volume.

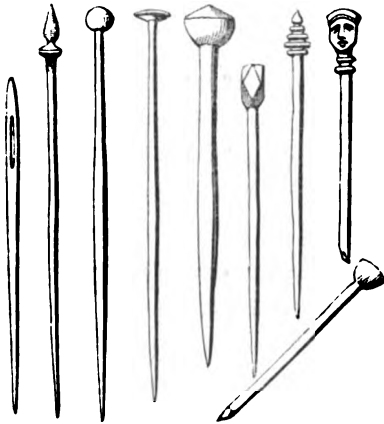
The small bronze fibula, shewn in the following cut, of a very

¹ A Tour in Wales, vol. i, pl. ix.

common description, is not unlike the brooch used at the present day by the Highlanders. The principle of its construction is also similar to the ancient examples, often elaborately worked and richly jewelled, which are not unfrequently found in Ireland, but rarely in the south of Britain.¹



The figures in the annexed cut have been selected from a numerous collection of pins, in bone, and a sewing-needle of the same material.



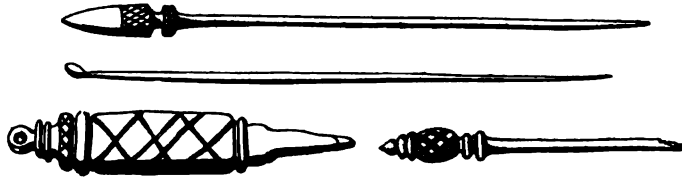
Bone pins, etc. Half the original size.

The principal use of the pins, was to fasten the dress and the hair. The mode of their application for the latter purpose, is explained in vol. iv, p. 47, of the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, where an antique female head, from a marble group found at Apt, in France, is placed by the side of that of a female of the present day,—sketched on the Rhine,—to

shew the ancient mode of fastening the plaited head with pins, to be identical with the fashion still retained in Germany, and also in Italy. Two other pins, which belong to this class, are exhibited in the engraving on the following page: the one being in bronze, the other in bone. An immense number of bone pins

¹ For a descriptive account, and engravings of the principal varieties of the ancient Irish fibula, see a paper, by Mr. Fairholt, in the volume of the Proceedings of the British Archæological Association at Gloucester.

such as those in the last cut, are often found in Roman burial-places ; many hundreds have been collected from the site of the



The two upper cuts, bronze ; the two lower, bone. Half the original size.

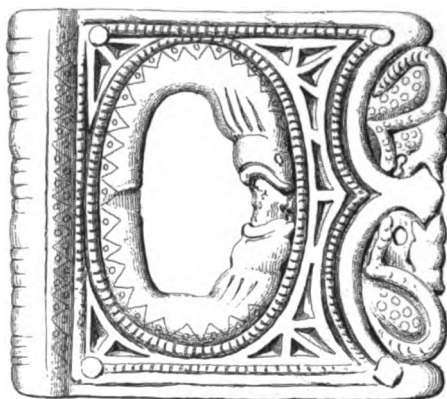
ancient cemetery at Colchester, and a large quantity was picked up among the sepulchral deposits found in excavating Cock-lane, West Smithfield. Their presence in such situations may be accounted for from the circumstance of their having been used for fastening the shrouds, or the dresses, in which the corpses had been buried. The largest figure, in bone, on this cut, has apparently belonged to the toilette ; but, as the lower extremity is broken off, its particular purpose cannot be ascertained.

The term *armilla*, or bracelet, designates a class of personal ornaments equally numerous with the foregoing, and more frequently referred to by ancient writers. In the East, from the most remote antiquity down to the present day, bracelets have ever been the most conspicuous indications of wealth and rank. In Europe the same taste prevailed, and golden armillæ are among the most valuable antiquities which, under the modern term "Celtic", take precedence in date in our museums and collections. Among the Romans, armillæ were frequently bestowed for military merit ; and, as honourable testimonials conferred for valorous achievements, are often enumerated in monumental inscriptions, with *torques*, *phaleræ*, and other presents. Such may have been the

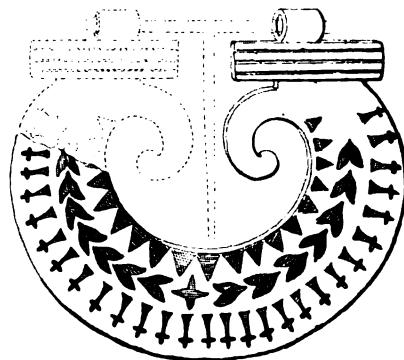
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2



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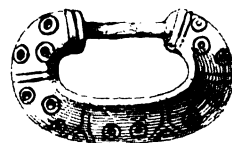
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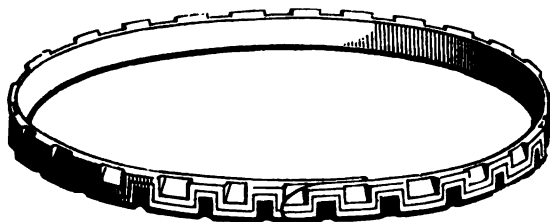


Drawn & Engraved by F.W. Fisher, F.S.A.

ANGLO-SAXON PERSONAL ORNAMENTS.

Found at RICHMOND, SURREY.

beautiful silver armillæ found in Buckinghamshire, with coins of Pius, Faustina, and Verus.¹ "*Imperator te argenteis armillis donat*", is the donative expression preserved by Valerius Maximus.² To these more costly varieties our attention is, on the present occasion, merely referred, as no examples of them are included in the Richborough collection. The specimen exhibited in the engraving subjoined, is one of a humbler class, and has probably belonged to a female. It is in bronze; the ends, as indicated in the cut,



Bracelet from Richborough.

extending the one over the other, to admit of the necessary extension to place it on the wrist. The elasticity of the metal remains, and the bracelet is in perfect preservation. In the ancient Roman burial-places in our country, bracelets are frequently found with the cinerary urns, or on the arms of the skeletons. Some found near Canterbury were in bronze, with terminations in the form of the heads of snakes; and similar examples have been found at Strood, in London, Colchester, and other places. They are also met with, neatly cut in jet, plain and ornamented, and also in a bituminous shale, found at Kimmeridge Bay in the Isle of Purbeck, on the coast of Dorsetshire.

Plate v exhibits early Saxon personal ornaments found at Rich-

¹ These armillæ, now in the museum of Mr. Bateman, are figured in vol. ii, p. 353, of the Journal of the British Archaeological Association.

² Lib. viii, cap. xiv.

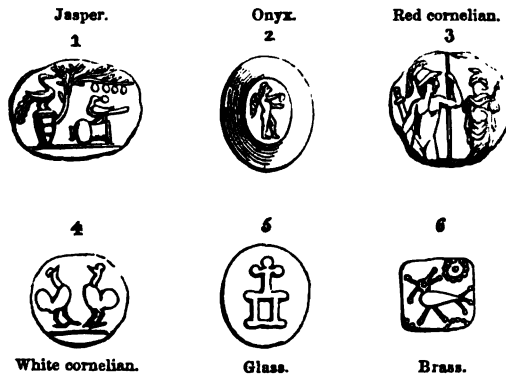
borough. They are of the highest interest, both as works of art, and as supplying evidence which goes far to prove that the Roman buildings were not so utterly devastated and deserted, as has commonly been imagined, by the Saxon settlers. Fig. 1 is a fibula in silver, in the centre of which was apparently a jewel. It closely resembles one in the possession of Sir William Lawson, found near Catterick Bridge, in Yorkshire, on the site of a Roman station.¹ Fig. 2, a belt buckle in bronze; fig. 3, a buckle in bronze, inlaid with silver; fig. 4, the tag, a pendent end of a belt; figs. 5 and 6, portions of buckles, two of which, complete, from the Saxon burial-place at Ash, are engraved in *Boys' Collections for a History of Sandwich*. The objects in this plate are figured the size of the originals.² The connexion between the workmanship of the latest Roman and the earliest Saxon personal ornaments, is often so close, that it is difficult to discriminate between the two; but the latter soon acquired a nationality of character,—such as those in our plate exhibit,—and preserved such marked characteristics, that the antiquary is easily enabled to classify them under one general head. But they admit also, it would seem, of sub-divisions; for there may be observed, in the various collections made in different parts of the kingdom, from burial-places (which, there is every reason to believe, are contemporaneous), considerable variations in form and ornamentation, referable to their introduction by the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes; who, under the general term,

¹ *Archæological Journal*, vol. vi, p. 216.

² In a manuscript journal in the possession of Mr. Britton, Stukeley mentions the discovery, at Richborough, in a barrow, of “two elegant fibulas, made in gold and glass-work, and a string of beads, evidently British”. These were clearly Saxon fibulæ and beads, such as are frequently found in Kent.

Saxons, settled in various parts of Britain. Thus Bede informs us that the Jutes took possession of Kent, and of the Isle of Wight and the opposite coast; and accordingly, the works of art found in the tumuli of Kent and of the Isle of Wight are identical in character, and possess peculiarities which are comparatively seldom met with in remains discovered in other parts of the kingdom. The introduction of the cross, as in fig. 1, and the cruciform arrangements of the ornamental work on some of these early fibulæ, can scarcely be considered to denote that the wearers were Christians, for they are often found associated with circumstances which betray the unextinguished predominance of pagan practices and ceremonies; and it is therefore much more reasonable to believe that the works were merely imported from the continent, where the influence of Christianity had affected the arts, than to consider the cross as used or understood in any symbolical sense.¹

Among personal ornaments, may be classed the intaglios, from Richborough, represented below. The first four are Roman; the



¹ For numerous examples of the richer kinds of Saxon ornaments found in Kent, Mr. Wright's *Archæological Album*, and Mr. Akerman's *Archæological*

fifth, late Roman or Saxon ; the sixth, Saxon. They have all been evidently set in rings. A bronze ring found at Shefford, Beds. with Roman remains, and now preserved in the museum of the Antiquarian Society of Cambridge, is set with glass of similar design as fig. 5,—a cross upon an altar, and a stone, with like device, was, many years since, found at Silchester. An analogy will be recognized between fig. 6 and some of the devices on the early Saxon coins termed *sceattas*.

Engraved stones are amongst the most curious and valuable works of ancient art which have descended to our times. Fortunately, the indestructibility and intrinsic value of the material have combined to preserve vast numbers, which are treasured in public and private collections throughout the world. To a great extent, they are also still applied to their original use in all countries, as, on account of their great beauty and execution, they surpass, in this department of art, all the efforts of modern skill. They include not only many designs which are met with on coins and other monuments,—such as divinities, sacrifices, and other subjects connected with mythology and history,—but also the portraits of great men and of private individuals, and allusions to legendary history and scenes of real life, many of which are to be found nowhere else. They partly owe their preservation to another cause. In the earliest times, we occasionally find engraved gems regarded as conferring upon the wearer some good gift or quality, or protecting him from evil ; but, in the middle ages, belief in the supernatural agency of antique stones prevailed universally,

Index, may be referred to ; and also, Mr. Fairholt's coloured engraving of the beautiful circular fibula found at Sarr, which forms the frontispiece of the *Proceedings of the Archaeological Association at Gloucester*.

and was systematically inculcated by the monks ; who, relying on the ignorance and superstition of the age, caused them to be considered as possessing sacred protective powers ; and the effigies of the gods and goddesses of the discarded mythology held rank, and were honoured equally, with the relics of saints and martyrs. Many of the old church ornaments are still richly decorated with Greek and Roman cameos and engraved gems. The celebrated shrine of the three kings, at Cologne, is studded with some hundreds, many of which are of great value, and of the finest workmanship. They were also inserted in the covers of the choicer kind of early manuscripts, of which there are examples remaining, and they are frequently found in the seals of the middle ages. Mr. Wright, in a communication made to the Society of Antiquaries of London, on antiquarian excavations and researches in the middle ages,¹ observes, that as early as the twelfth century (at least), we meet, in ecclesiastical manuscripts, with regular inventories of ancient gems looked upon as magical amulets, which the finders were directed to preserve, and take advantage of, for the sake of their supposed virtues. Mr. Wright has published one of these inventories, of the thirteenth century, and he observes on it : “There is something of what the French term *bizarre* in the contrast between the descriptions of the ancient engravings, and the medieval enumeration of virtues attached. Thus, the first on the list is a gem representing Pegasus or Bellerophon : this stone was good for warriors, and gave them boldness, and swiftness in flight. Another bore the figure of Andromeda : it had the power of conciliating love between man and woman. A gem bearing the figure of Hercules slaying a lion, or ‘other monster’, was a ‘singular

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. xxx, p. 438.

defence to combatants'. The figure of Mercury on a gem, rendered the possessor wise and persuasive. The figure of Jupiter, with the body of a man and the head of a ram, made the man who bore it beloved by everybody; and he was sure to obtain any thing he asked. If you find a stone bearing the figure of a hare, it will be a defence against the devil; if you find a dog and a lion on the same stone, it will be a preservative against dropsy or pestilence. The figure of Orion was believed to give victory in war. If you find a stone, on which is Perseus holding in his right hand a sword, and in his left the Gorgon's head, it is a preservative against lightning and tempest, and against the assaults of devils. A stone on which is engraved a long-bearded man sitting on a plough, with a bending in his neck, and four men lying down, and holding in his hands a fox and a vulture; this, suspended about the neck, enables you to find treasures. If you find a dove, with a branch of olive in its mouth, engraved in pyrites, and mount it in a silver ring, and carry it with you, every body will invite you to be his guest, and people will feast you much and frequently. The figure of a syren, sculptured in a jacinth, rendered the bearer invisible. A fair head, well combed, with a handsome face, engraved on a gem, gave to the bearer joy, reverence, and honour. Such were the qualities attached to ancient gems in the superstitious belief of the middle ages."

WALL-PAINTINGS.

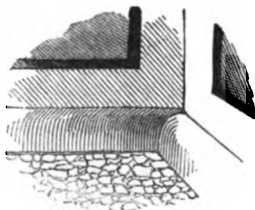
Towards the north-east corner of the castrum, in the bank opposite g in the plan (page 44), vestiges of domestic buildings may be observed at the depth of from three to four feet from the

upper surface. The soil is charged with the *debris* of rooms which were obviously devoted to the quietude and comforts of private life. Although, at present, no opportunity has been afforded to speak of their extent, or the details of their arrangements, still the evidences which present themselves leave no doubt as to their original destination. Masses of mortar divulge the floorings; tiles of a peculiar and well-understood character, indicate hypocausts and the modes of warming the apartments; and fragments of wall-paintings are unequivocal proofs which cannot be misunderstood. As these mural decorations have been unnoticed or unrecorded by the former explorers of Richborough, and as they possess great interest in relation to lost or decayed art, fac-similes of two specimens are presented in plate vi. Other fragments from this site afforded different patterns, such as green, red, and black stripes on a white ground.

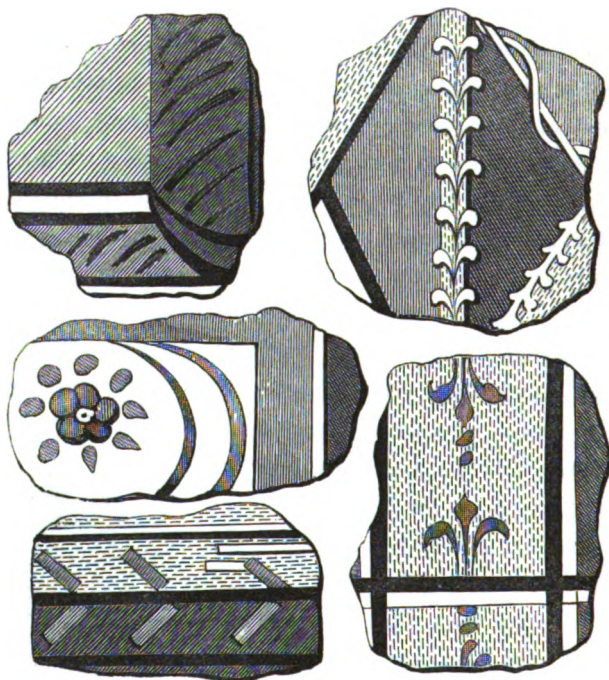
In all the wall-paintings which have been discovered among the ruins of Roman buildings, both in this country and on the continent, an extraordinary similarity, amounting almost to identity of workmanship, prevails. The mode of preparing the substratum of plaister which covered the walls, and upon which was laid the coloured compositions, presents no remarkable difference. It is composed of lime, sand, and small stones; and however they may vary in relative proportions, it is, in all instances, solid and firm. Upon this substratum, made perfectly smooth, was laid a very thin coating of fine calcareous cement; and upon this was painted the various designs. The process was evidently as striking for its simplicity as for its perfection: no laboured skill or expensive preparations were required to produce, alike in the humble cottage and in the capacious villa, chasteness of design, good effect, and durability

of colour. The science of chemistry has laid open to us the nature of the materials which the Romans used in the pictorial embellishments of their apartments: they are as common and accessible now as then; but the genius which guided the hand of the Roman artist has vanished, and will not be lured from its retreat by the combined efforts of royal commissions, schools of design, and the magic spells of academical prizes and honours; and the best of the fostered productions of modern mural paintings will probably prove, after all, but an abortive or ephemeral attempt to rival the works of the ancient school. Certainly, as far as durability is concerned, nothing that has yet been accomplished by the most skilful of modern artists, can be compared to the worst work of the most ordinary house-painter of ancient times. Fresco and distemper painting are among those decayed arts of antiquity, which science seems unable to recall into existence, unless it be to show how difficult it is to adapt the genius of one age to the wants and circumstances of another. If a Flaxman is created, it is but to show that the ideal and the beautiful in sculpture are only perceived and estimated by a few. If the gems of a Pistrucci rival the productions of the ancients, the skill of the individual forms the exception, not the rule; or if he invest our degraded coins with the fanciful elegance and spirit of the antique, the national mind does not appreciate the achievement, and demands trite and prosaic realities suited to its peculiar fashion and taste. Artists of eminence in their departments of art, like the workers in fresco and distemper painting, were formerly so numerous, that they seem to have been regarded as the necessary purveyors to a universal and urgent taste, and their names are, in consequence, as seldom recorded as those of the worthy individuals who cater for our physical necessities.

Pompeii and Herculaneum have furnished materials for much and valuable information on the composition of the colours used by the Romans; and from analysis of those found on the sites of villas in England and in France, it is certain that the pigments were nearly, if not quite, the same. The reds are composed of the oxides of lead and iron, of vermillion and ochres; the yellows are ochres, with and without oxide of lead; the blue, oxide of copper; the greens, combinations of copper; the blacks and browns, chiefly ochres; the white, refined chalk or lime, or marble finely pounded. The artistic excellence of those found in this country can hardly be fairly judged, as they are only found in a very fragmentary state; but specimens of figures are not wanting which possess considerable merit for good drawing, and bold and striking effect: such are, a head of a Bacchante, a winged head of a Cupid or genius, and a capricorn, with other fragments, found in London, among the ruins of the better sort of villas. Commonly, the rooms of the houses in Britain were painted in a ground of deep red, divided into panels by borders of various colours, in the centre of which were depicted mythological subjects, or a single figure, as a Bacchante or a Cupid: rural scenes were also favourites; or, in the panels, were interspersed birds, flowers, stars, and fanciful objects. The annexed cut shews the angle of a room in the Roman villa at Chesterford, with the painting yet remaining attached to the wall. Some fragments in my possession, from the site of a large and superior building near Crosby Hall, exhibit a kind of decorated trellis-work on a red ground, in the divisions of which are stars,



or flowers, in yellow, white, and dark blue colours, and a man with a staff and what appears to be a basket. The figure of the man, and the other parts of the pattern, were repeated over the face of the wall, or throughout the panel, and enclosed in a dark border, upon which is a stripe of white.¹ Others were intended to represent the coloured marbles which encased the walls of the more magnificent villas of the mother-country. To give a notion of the general style of these paintings, as they are usually discovered in this country, some are here introduced from the museum, at



¹ This, and others referred to above, are engraved in Mr. Wright's *Archaeological Album*.

Audley End, of the Hon. R. C. Neville. They were found among the ruins of the Chesterford villa.¹ The colours of these paintings (which, it must be noticed, are on a reduced scale), are indicated by the lines being disposed heraldically. Other fragments from this villa represent portions of the human figure: one, a foot of a female, life-size, with drapery flowing round it, bears a close resemblance, as regards treatment, to that of a Bacchante, or dancing nymph, in one of the tessellated pavements at Bignor. Monsieur B. Fillon has just published an account of discoveries made at Saint-Médard (Vendée), in which he describes, among other objects, some interesting wall-paintings.² One of these is the bust of a female, holding up her hair in the right hand: the gesture and expression of countenance would seem to indicate that this figure had belonged to a composition of a serious, if not tragic, kind. There are also enumerated the neck, breast, and arm, of a young sedent female figure; a pleasing head of a child, numerous limbs, a female foot sandeled, a large fish, and a basket of mushrooms: others, of small dimensions, include a Cupid, with blue wings, carrying a yellow vase; the torso of a man holding the reins of a courser; a basket of fish, and marine horses, the nostrils, breast, and legs of which are rose-coloured; there were also two or three fragments of landscape, a part of a small panther, a vase containing an aquatic plant, two swans, and a blue sky. Some pieces were ornamented with tritons, of a greenish hue, bound with sea-weed. Rays and fillets, black, yellow, green, and red; a garland of laurel, with pendants of gold; strings of pearls,

¹ See *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. iv, p. 356.

² Description de la ville et du tombeau d'une femme artiste Gallo-Romaine, découverts à Saint-Médard-des-Prés (Vendée), 4to. 1849.

from which vases are suspended,—surround the pictures, and are, at the same time, enlivened by birds of rich colours, which play among the foliage.¹

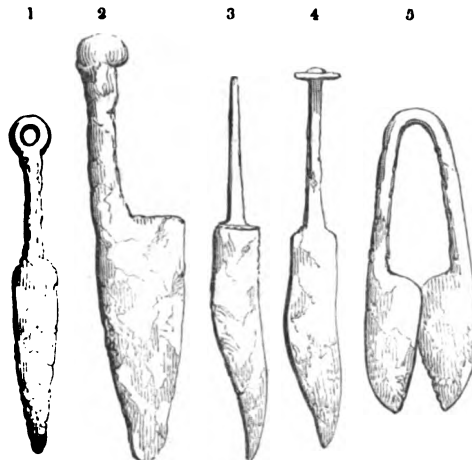
IMPLEMENTS AND UTENSILS.

It is somewhat remarkable, that a place so long devoted to military purposes as Richborough was, should have left no traces of weapons of warfare. It would almost seem that time had purposely effaced every evidence of the prevalence of war and violence, and preserved only relics of peace, and the arts which administer to the comforts and necessities of life; and the philanthropist might hail this extinction of the sword and spear, as a *prestige* and foreshadowing of the realization of his dreams of a state of human happiness when such things shall be known no more, if sober fact did not intrude to dispel the illusion. The reason why Roman weapons are so seldom found on the sites of military stations, is, chiefly, the perishable nature of the material, iron, of which they were usually made in the later periods of the empire. Their comparative rarity is also further explained by their not being included among the objects which were interred in graves. The Saxons, on the contrary, always buried with their dead, swords, spears, and knives; and to this custom alone are we indebted for all we know of the forms and varieties of their weapons. A very

¹ Ausonius incidentally makes mention of a wall-painting at Treves, where still are extant so many splendid monuments of Roman art. It ornamented the wall of the *triclinium*, or dining-room, of Æolus, or, according to some manuscripts, Zoilus, and represented Cupid fastened to a cross by women who had been disappointed in their loves. The beauty of the composition, and its subject, struck the admiring poet, and suggested the poem entitled *Cupido cruci affixus*.

unusual discovery of Roman spears, javelins, and arrow-heads, knives, and other implements in iron, was made by Mr. Durden, a few years since, at Hod Hill, in Dorset, under circumstances which precluded a supposition that they could be other than Roman.¹

The subjoined cut gives representations of most of the implements in iron which have been lately found at Richborough. Fig. 1 is probably a workman's tool; fig. 2 somewhat resembles the knives frequently sculptured on bas-reliefs; figs. 3 and 4 appear to have been such as were commonly used for culinary purposes; fig. 5 is a pair of shears, which differs in nothing from those used at the present day.



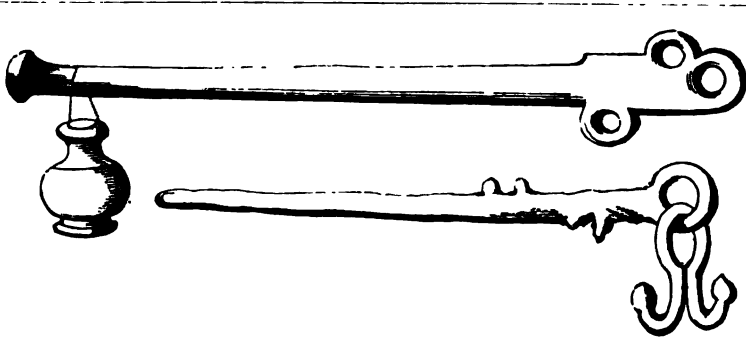
In iron. One-fourth real size

All the implements delineated above are much oxidized, as, it has been observed, is usually the case with objects in iron. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine such time-worn remains ever re-

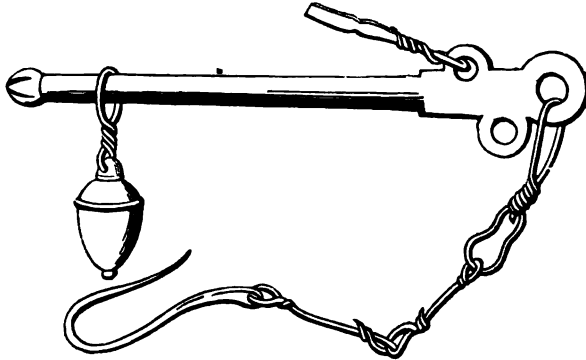
¹ See *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. iii, p. 94.

sembled their modern types in polished steel, and I know but of one instance of the perfect preservation of such implements. It occurred a few years since, when excavations were made for the foundations of the new Royal Exchange. In a deep pit filled with all sorts of refuse, well saturated with moisture, were found, among many curious and valuable works of Roman art, knives and styli, and artisans' tools, in steel, some of which are perfectly free from rust, and retain all the qualities of well-tempered steel. Over this pit had been laid a thick stratum of gravel, by which the atmospheric air, the chief agent in the decomposition of iron, had been completely excluded.

On the next page are exhibited two steel-yards and three weights, from Richborough, together with a more perfect specimen from Pompeii. The principle upon which the ancient steel-yards were constructed, was the same as that by which those of the present day are regulated. A third example, found recently at Richborough, has the yard notched into fractional divisions, and is furnished with two hooks. At the end, where (in the specimen from Pompeii) the chain is attached, was sometimes hung a scale. Some of the larger Roman steel-yards, of which many are extant, are manufactured with great skill and care, and with that attention to ornament which characterizes most of the ancient works of art, even when they were intended for the most common and homely purposes,—as may be instanced, the specimen dredged up in the port of Antium, and figured in the *Recueil d'Antiquités* of Count Caylus, and others found at Pompeii and Herculaneum. The weights afforded scope for the display of the highest talent, being frequently of the form of animals, or heads and busts of emperors, divinities, and nymphs, elaborately worked and ornamented.



Steel-yards. Half the actual size. Richborough.

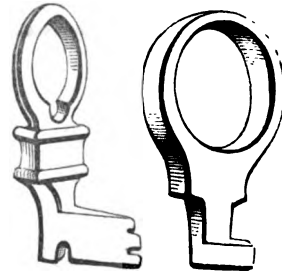


Steel-yard. Half the actual size. Pompeii.



Steel-yard weights. Actual size.

Besides the steel-yard, the Romans used various kinds of scales and balances, to which modern science seems to have added no material novelty or improvement. Even the prototype of the balance recently invented for weighing letters sent by post, has been recognized in a small portable balance, with hinges for folding up, which was found on the site of a Roman villa at Hartlip, near Sittingbourne.¹ In fact, in modern art we meet with little or nothing that can be pronounced perfectly new. The keys which are usually among the remains discovered in localities of Roman occupation, are also closely similar to the modern fashions; and this analogy cannot be better shewn than by referring to the testimony of one of the chief patentees of inventions in keys, elicited during an inspection of the Roman remains, found in London, preserved in my private museum. He was struck by the intricacy and diversity of pattern displayed in the various kinds of keys; and was especially astonished at finding some of his patented inventions had been forestalled fifteen hundred years since.

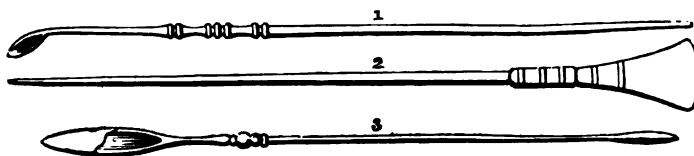


Keys in bronze. Actual size.
Richborough.

Allusion is made above to *styli* discovered in London. A specimen from Richborough is represented in fig. 2 on the cut beneath, between two ligulæ, or spoons, in bronze. It slightly differs, in the form of the broad end, from the London examples. *Styli* were used for writing upon waxed tablets of wood, which were fastened together at the back, so as to form a kind of book. The pointed end served for writing the characters upon the wax, and

¹ This curious instrument is engraved in vol. ii of the *Collectanea Antiqua*.

the flat extremity for smoothing it again, when it was required to efface the writing. "*Sæpe stylum vertas*", is the advice Horace



Half the size of the originals.

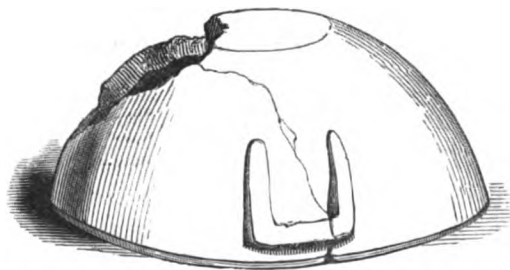
gives to the author who would wish his compositions to be read a second time,—literally, "often turn the stylus", to correct errors; and we use the word *style* to express a manner of writing, the derivation of which is obvious. The styli, from their size and pointed end, could be converted, on an emergency, into a rather formidable weapon. It was with his *graphium*, or stylus, Suetonius tells us, that Julius Cæsar, when beset by the conspirators, wounded Cassius; and, in later times, it was found necessary to control the use of these literary implements, by legal restriction, to their legitimate purposes; for stabbing with the pen was not always a metaphorical expression, but frequently a fatal reality. The two *ligulæ* (figs. 1 and 3) appear to have been used for taking ointments and prepared oils from the long-necked bottles.

Among the domestic utensils with which the occupiers of Rutupia were provided, may be mentioned querns, or handmills, for grinding wheat and other farinaceous grain. Unfortunately, no complete specimen has been preserved. Some of the fragments are in the Hertfordshire conglomerate, or pudding-stone, of which several quern-stones have been found at Springhead near Gravesend.¹ Others are in a dark lava, and are made with much greater

¹ Examples of these are figured in pl. xli, vol. i, *Collectanea Antiqua*, and in pl. xlix, vol. 1, of the etchings of the Antiquarian Etching Club.

care: they are about eighteen inches in diameter, and four in thickness at the margin. One side is cut with longitudinal grooves, concentrating at the centre, which is hollow; the other side is dentated in compartments. The remains of the handles of iron by which the stones were worked, are still perceptible. Quern-stones, in lava, have been discovered in many places, and particularly in London, where some have been met with of large size, which could only have been worked by horses. The mill-stones of this description were imported into Britain from the quarries near Andernach, on the Rhine, where still an extensive export trade in this commodity is carried on.

In the annexed cut is exhibited what appears to be a kind of mortar, which was found in one of the cylindrical pits mentioned in page 55. It is in a peculiar kind of compact mica, or mica-



slate, somewhat resembling granite in appearance; is bowl-shaped, and its dimensions are, 21 inches in diameter, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, outside measure, and from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick; on the exterior are two handles. In the engraving, this singular utensil is shewn placed upside down.

ANIMAL REMAINS.

The organic remains discovered on and about the sites of Roman residences, furnish materials for the investigations of the comparative anatomist and naturalist, in conjunction with the antiquary, whose peculiar province is the study of the works of art : the subject has hitherto but little engaged the attention of either, although it will be admitted to be of general interest, and worthy of further inquiry and research, as shewing the sorts of food commonly used, the mode of life, and character of the people. With a view to engage, on future occasions, the cooperation of naturalists, and to direct notice to a collateral branch of archæology, as connected with a sister science, as well as for the sake of immediate comparison, I here reprint, *verbatim*, a report by Mr. John Brown, the geologist, which, at my suggestion, he kindly drew up, on the animal remains found on the site of the Roman burial-place near Colchester ; an account of which will also be found in the fifth volume of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* :—

“The bones, horn cores, and teeth, of the animals, found recently with the highly interesting and numerous Roman antiquities, in the garden at the front of the house of Mr. John Taylor, jun., consist of horn cores (*slugs*) of a short-horned ox (*bos*) ; molar and cutting teeth of the horse ; the crest of the cranium of a ruminant (the broken and decayed state of the specimen forbids a more explicit description) ; horns of the stag (*cervus elephas*) ; horn cores of a very large goat ; three horn cores of a species of ox termed *bos longifrons* ;—two of the last appear to match in every respect. These are smaller in size, and probably were those of a

P

female ; while the remaining one is larger, and probably belonged to a male animal. We have a good description of this extinct species of *bos*, in *British Fossil Mammalia*, p. 508, by Professor Owen. It is highly interesting in a geological point of view, as well as in other respects, to find the remains of extinct species of mammalia associated with those remains which carry us back to the period in which the Romans lived in Britain. In general, the geologist, in the course of his investigations, has to content himself with relative, not specific, data. The organic fossils of the rocks and deposits which he studies, are so different in form from animals of the present and living types, that they afford him only *relative data* wherewith to draw his conclusions. But when he meets with an extinct species,—as, for instance, the *bos longifrons* now before us,—in close connexion with the remains of man and works of art, he then finds, in those remains of days long past, *specific data*. Although it is true that remains of the *bos longifrons* have been found in several places in this very country, in the same bed with the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, hyæna, and many other large quadrupeds now found living in tropical countries only, and in strata much older than that in which our present inquiry lies, it is true also, that the *bos longifrons* did not form a part of the British *fauna* very long after that period in which the Romans occupied our island, and it is well known to naturalists, that this species of ox is not in existence now in any part of the world. It is pertinent to our subject to remark, that this is not a solitary instance of this extinct race of oxen being found in the alluvial soil of Colchester, in juxtaposition with Roman remains. Urns of graceful form, pateræ, glass vessels, and other implements of that enlightened and powerful people,

were found, a little more than twelve months ago, by Mr. James Tabor,¹ by digging in his garden near his house, in St. Mary's parish. Here a great number of bones of the ox, sheep, goat ; horns of stags, with jaw and teeth of that creature ; jaws, teeth, and tusks, of wild hogs ; a left ramus and teeth of a small canine animal,—size of a cat ; jaws and teeth of dogs,—some of them sufficiently large, and armed with teeth so large, as to lead to the idea of their being wolf's jaws. In the same excavation were found six beautiful Roman urns, iron spear-heads, coloured glass, and numerous fragments of red pottery (Samian ware). The same excavation produced also numerous bones of human subjects ; and these were in a better state of preservation than the bones of the quadrupeds found with them. The human jaws and teeth are very perfect,—the latter being remarkably sound, and firmly fixed in the sockets, or alveoli. The individuals to whom they belonged, must have died young. Here were also found remains of the *bos longifrons*, consisting of horn cores, and the crest of the skull, in tolerably good preservation. Thus we find, in tracing the history of our island from remote antiquity ; by collecting and preserving such valuable specimens of arts as have recently been found, in excavating within the precincts of Colchester, in such numbers and variety : that, by so doing, an important feature is added to the future history of the town. And it is interesting to those fond of studying the natural history of the locality, that, among the bones of quadrupeds domesticated by the Romans, and also by the present generation, are found the remains of one species which is now extinct. These have been found in two different places in Colchester, within half-a-mile of each other, in close contact with the specimens of art

¹ See Journal, vol. ii, p. 43.

above alluded to ; and there can exist no doubt whatever, that, if these investigations are followed up, much more light will be thrown on these relics than we at present possess, and bones and teeth of other extinct animals will be discovered. And here it is worthy of remark, that, while we are thus usefully employing ourselves, we are manifesting that archæology is more closely relative to geology than many persons expected. And it is well known, that the alluvial soil in and around Colchester, is literally crowded with interesting remains of antiquity ; therefore it will be well, if all who feel interested in these exciting pursuits, which cast such floods of light upon the early history of their country, will give all encouragement to the collection and preservation of such valuable and faithful witnesses of the more early days of civilization. With regard to the species of ox first alluded to in this paper, as found in Mr. Tabor's garden, with slightly curved horn cores,—if we compare those cores with some that were found by the hon. R. C. Neville, at Chesterford, on the border of Cambridgeshire, a few months ago, when I visited that interesting locality,—we find a considerable variation in external form ; those found in Mr. Tabor's garden, in Colchester, it was before observed, are short and slightly curved, while those found at Chesterford are much longer, and gracefully twisted, and more like the horns of the oxen of the Alderney breed."

The bones and horns of the animals found in London, with Roman remains, are much of the same kind as those described above by Mr. Brown, namely of the *bos longifrons*, sheep, goats, deer, and swine. At the Roman villa at Hartlip, in a deep pit, was a large quantity of the bones of the sheep, hog, horse, and ox, the last of which was ascertained to belong to the *bos longifrons*.

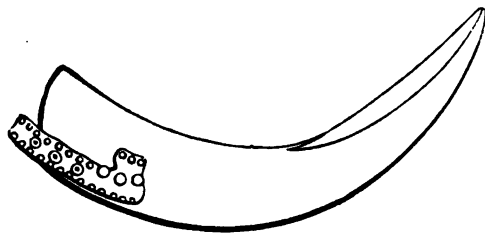
A more extensive list has been sent me by Mr. P. B. Purnell, of the animal remains found at a Roman villa at Dursley, near Gloucester. It contains those of the horse, stag, fox, wild boar, hares, rabbits, mice, wild duck, chicken, goats, pigs, sheep, kids, lambs, rooks and small birds, cat, polecat, and a small kind of ox.

The Rev. James Layton, of Sandwich, in a communication kindly made to me relative to the animal remains found at Richborough, observes: "The major part consists of the common bones of the ox, sheep, and roebuck,—especially the first. I have seen one head also of the ox, with the frontal bone broken through, as if with a pole-axe, just as by a butcher of the present day. It may be noticed, too, that the oxen and sheep were small when compared with ours; and one is pleased with finding the account of Tacitus, in his *Germany* (*pecorum fecunda, sed plerumque improcera*), so well illustrated by the dirt-pits of Richborough. One specimen of the stag (*cervus elephas*), a very fine one, has come to my notice,—a metatarsal together with a lower jaw. But though the bones of deer are thus scarce, pieces of the horns are frequent. I have said *pieces*,—not fragments,—for they have been sawn into various lengths preparatory to their being formed into articles of common use. To similar purposes the larger bones of the ox and sheep were probably applied, which may account for more of them being found. One *femur* of a dog about the size of a terrier, I picked up; but the presence of that animal was otherwise testified, by the marks of their teeth on the bones of others."

That Britain abounded in flocks and herds, is one of those facts, the concurrent testimony of ancient writers, by direct statement, as well as by incidental allusion, place beyond dispute or question. The fertility of the province was happily typified by Carausius, on

his coins, under the representation of a woman milking a cow, and the appropriate legend, "*Ubertas Aug.*" Eumenius, a contemporary author, specifies, among other advantages which Britain then possessed, the vast quantity of cattle (*innumerabilis multitudo*).

As might have been anticipated from the locality, oyster-shells are found in great abundance throughout Richborough; but they are plentifully met with also on the sites of Roman residences in all parts of the kingdom. Tusks of the boar were also numerous. One of these, shewn in the annexed cut, half the size of the original, has pieces of ornamented bronze fastened to it, evidently to admit



Boar's tusk. Half the actual size. Richborough.

of its being worn as an ornament, or perhaps as a trophy, for hunting the wild boar was one of the field sports with which the Romans in Britain diverted themselves, as is curiously

recorded by an inscription on an altar found at Stanhope, in the county of Durham, dedicated to the god Sylvanus by a hunter, on account of his success in taking a boar of enormous size, which many before him had tried in vain to take.¹

The pieces of stags' horns, as Mr. Layton remarks, bear evident marks of having been intended for some of the common domestic purposes to which hard bone was applied; or they were pieces rejected probably by the workmen employed in making amulets

¹ The inscription is as follows: "*Sylvano invicto sacrum C. Tetius Veturius Micianus Præf. Alæ Sebosianæ ob aprum eximie formæ captum quem multi antecessores ejus prædari non potuerunt v.s.l.p.*"—Gough's *Camden*, vol. iii, p. 117.

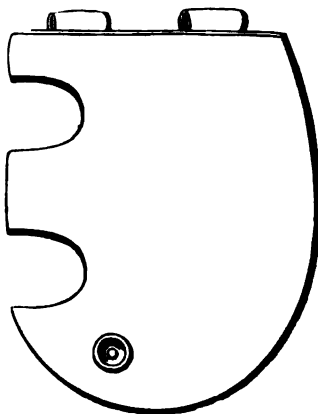
and votive offerings. Two of the latter, formed from the base of the horn, are figured in M. Baudot's report on discoveries made at the source of the Seine.¹ They were among an immense quantity of objects in bone, which had been offered at the shrine of the goddess Sequana, for the cure of various diseases: they are neatly worked; and in the centre of one is cut, in relief, the bust of a child. One of a similar kind, and in the same material, which was found at Caerleon, is carved with a representation of the male organs of generation. All of these have been perforated for suspension.

MISCELLANEOUS.

There are yet a number of articles found, at various times, at Richborough, which cannot easily be classed under definite heads without entering too minutely into description; some, which appear more worthy of recording, are therefore here thrown together.

Arms and armour of the Roman period, as before observed, are rarely found in this country; but to this class two seem to belong.

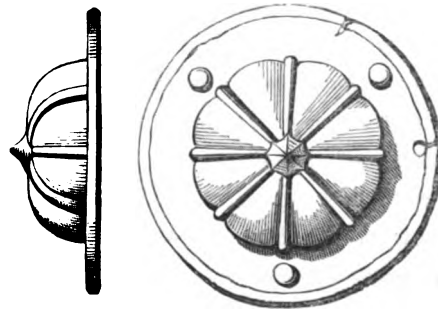
The annexed cut represents a piece of bronze, slightly convex, seven inches in length, and five and a half in width, which appears to have been a cheek-piece of a helmet. It has, however, been conjectured to be a shoulder-band, and has been compared with those



¹ *Rapport sur les Découvertes Archéologiques faites aux sources de la Seine*, par M. Henri Baudot (pl. xv), Dijon and Paris, 1845.

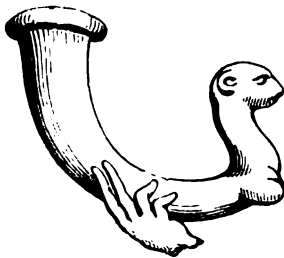
richly-ornamented specimens found near the river Siris, in Italy, preserved in the British Museum. Like them, it has been furnished with hinges, and is of the same dimensions : but here the resemblance ceases ; and although, in the numerous examples of helmets, which ancient representations supply, we have nothing precisely similar, there seems a much greater analogy to the lappets, or cheek-pieces, than to any parts of body-armour. At the lower extremity is a rivet, to which, on the inside, was apparently fastened a cord or string.

The next engraving shows, in two views, a bronze boss, or *umbo*, of a circular shield or buckler, four inches in diameter.



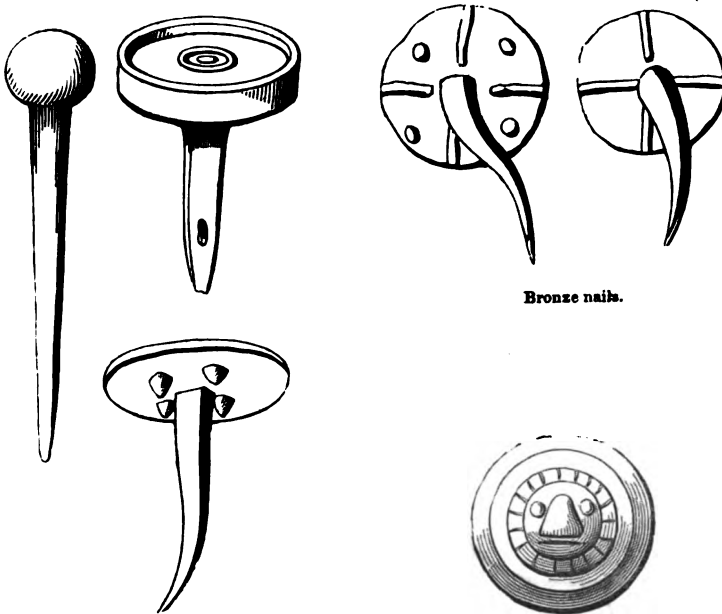
Boss of shield, bronze.

In the fragment delineated below, we may recognize a hand holding a horn or drinking-cup, which terminates in the fore part of the figure of an animal, apparently a panther. It has belonged to a statuette, probably of Bacchus. A very similar fragment is engraved in *Caylus*, pl. xc, fig. 6, tom. iv. Some of the small bronze figures occasionally found on



Bronze. Actual size.

the sites of Roman stations, are often of good workmanship. It is possible that, in past times, such may have been found at Richborough. In the *Archæologia*, vol. ix, p. 370, mention is made of a bronze figure of Mercury, dug up in Richborough castle. It was exhibited, in 1788, to the Society of Antiquaries, by Mr. Samuel Wegge. The figure of a bag-piper, stated to have been found here, and published by Mr. King, in his *Munimenta Antiqua*, as Roman, is palpably medieval.



Bronze nails.

Bronze nails.

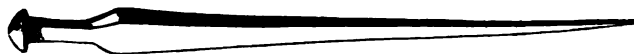
Actual size.

Bronze boss.

The bronze nails, representations of five varieties of which are here given, are not uninteresting, as shewing the care and neat workmanship bestowed on this common but useful implement.

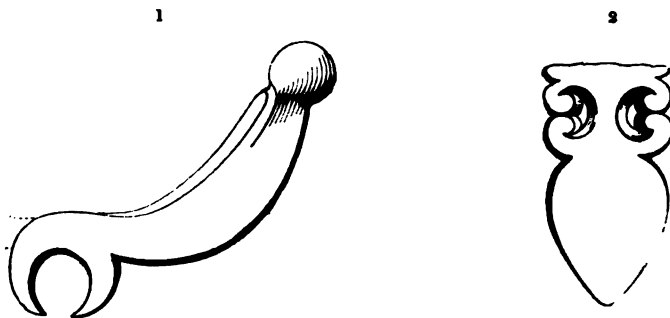
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Others, in iron, so exactly resemble those in use at the present day, from the largest size, down to the hob-nail of the sandal, that the circumstances under which they are found alone enable us to call them ancient. The bronze nails are much more uncommon, and some of them used in decorative work were often much ornamented. Some of the Richborough specimens are remarkable for points and crosses in the lower surface of the circular plate, evidently intended to secure them more effectually to the wood-work. The last figure on the previous page, represents a boss, such as were used exclusively as ornaments, and of which similar examples are of rather frequent occurrence. The nail-shaped implement below is probably some kind of workman's tool.



Bronze. Half the actual size.

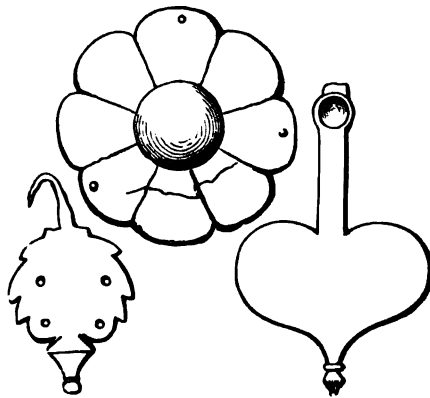
The fragment shewn in the adjoining cut (fig. 1) appears to be



Bronze. Actual size.

the half of a lunette, such as was used on horse furniture ; and fig. 2 may have been the pendent end of a belt.

In the collection from which the foregoing illustrations have been selected, and which is almost daily receiving additions by the vigilance of its owner, may possibly be some few objects of interest which have escaped our notice, and others, such as the specimens of coloured glass, which could not be well understood without the aid of coloured engravings. There are also, it may be observed, three varieties of whetstones such as that figured on p. 173, vol. i, of the *Collectanea Antiqua*, but without the bronze cases in which that and others found at Boulogne, were enclosed; an elegantly ornamented bronze hasp of a lock very similar to fig. 7, pl. xv, of M. Baudot's *Rapport*, etc., before referred to; two thin bronze sheaths or cases six inches long, each of which appears to have been provided with covers fixed by a hinge to each end, one of which is still remaining to each; it is very probable they were used for paints. There are also numerous minor objects, many in a fragmentary state, the uses of which, on this account, cannot with certainty be determined.



Bronze. Half original size.

COINS.

We are now arrived at a department of the Richborough collections, in which the monuments are numerous, and of the highest value and interest. They are eminently valuable, because there can be no doubt as to their use and nature. They are what they were fifteen hundred or two thousand years since; we see them as they were then seen, read them as they were then read. Time, which has destroyed temples and theatres, and equally swept away, with unsparing hand, the public edifice and the private dwelling, has remitted the universal fatal sentence in favour of coins and medals, as if for the purpose of bequeathing a salutary lesson to ambition, by teaching remote posterity, through the vehicle of objects which, in their day, were comparatively of little extrinsic consideration,—the mere medium of daily traffic, and the representatives of the commonest necessities, as well as of the luxuries, of life. How few of the grand works of ancient art and genius have stood uninjured by time and the still more destroying hand of man! How few of those yet extant can be conceived and understood, as when they existed in their unmutilated perfection! Yet coins,—the pence, halfpence, and farthings, of former times, have passed through the dangers of ages, buried safe beneath the ground upon which mighty cities and buildings, which seemed destined for eternity, have crumbled into ruins. And they come before us in exhaustless number, with a combination of the charms of sculpture and painting, equally rich as gems of art, and as historical pictures, shewing, within the smallest compass, the fullest view of ancient times we possess. The difficulty is to say what,

in art or history, is not impressed upon coins, or illustrated by them; and they possess this great advantage over most of the monuments of the ancient art,—they are individually numerous: a device or legend, if imperfect upon one specimen, can be corrected or restored by others. Inscriptions on stone or marble, by their obscurity or imperfection, often leave us perplexed and in doubt: the information recorded on coins is generally clear and obvious, and the most abbreviated words are usually explainable, either by comparison with others, on which they occur in a fuller form, or with the well-understood formulæ which regulated the legends at certain times, and under peculiar circumstances. This advantage which coins possess over inscriptions on stone and marble, is not sufficiently appreciated by antiquaries, who often expend much labour in profitless inquiries on the probable original reading of the latter, of which only a line, or a few words, may remain unobliterated; and wholly disregard the perfect legends and representations on coins, respecting which there can be no doubt or room for vague speculation and conjecture. Inscriptions are in no way to be undervalued: they often disclose historical facts, and help to guide to events, connected with particular localities, nowhere else recorded. But, passing over the great importance of coins, as implied in the wide range and unlimited ramifications of the science of numismatology, they are of the greatest use to the practical antiquary, by encouraging his researches, certifying the nature or the date of remains of doubtful period, or which want decisive characteristics. When coins are found in graves, it is obvious that the specimen of latest date,—especially if it be in good preservation,—proves that the deposit could not have been made antecedent to its fabrication; and, though it does not prove

the interment may not have been made at a considerable period subsequent to its date, its freshness may either weigh in favour of its having been inhumed soon after it was in circulation, or its worn surface may, on the other hand, suggest the conclusion that the interment had taken place long posterior to the issue of the coin. These evidences are too seldom attended to, even by professed antiquaries ; but their importance cannot be impressed too strongly on the consideration of all who would render ancient coins fully available to science. On the sites of Roman cemeteries, adjoining large towns which were founded or flourished in Roman times, coins are frequently found in great abundance ; and attention to the circumstances under which they are taken from the earth, will often assist a chronological classification of the remains, as particular coins often abound at particular spots.

The quantities of Roman coins which have come down to us are enormous. At the present day, large hoards are continually found in all parts of the once vast Roman empire ; and extensive collections of high historical and artistic interest are constantly being formed from fresh discoveries. Frequently the ploughman is surprised at seeing at his feet masses of strange money, which his ploughshare has disturbed from their sleep of centuries ; and other accidental circumstances often bring to light hoards of hundreds and of thousands of coins in gold, silver, and brass. Such hoards had unquestionably been, from various causes, intentionally deposited. The Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 418, states that the Romans collected all the hoards of gold (i.e. treasure, and coins of all kinds as well as gold), that were in Britain ; and some they hid in the earth, so that no man might afterwards find them, and some they carried away with them into Gaul. It is not at all probable that

on this occasion much money or treasure was buried ; but the compilers of the Chronicle inconsiderately ascribed the deposits of money and valuables, which, in the Saxon times, must have been often discovered, to this assumed cause. It is very evident that the Roman coins were concealed in the earth at all periods, for the earlier, or consular, denarii are still occasionally exhumed in masses, as are also the imperial, in series restricted to certain reigns, the latest of which gives the probable periods of time when they were buried. The difficulty and danger attending the transmission or carriage of large quantities of money, in troublesome times, or on emergent occasions, must explain the concealment ; and the casualties of war must account, in many cases, why the hidden wealth was not reclaimed. The vast quantities of coins which strew the sites of Roman towns and stations, must have been simply lost by the owners at all periods during the occupation of those places ; and the unexhausted stores which are still found, are less surprising when the superior abundance of metallic currency in ancient times is compared with that of the modern.

Leland, whose account of Richborough has previously been quoted in our volume, says, that time out of mind, as well as in his own days (upwards of three hundred years since), more Roman money had been found there than in any other place in England ; and ocular evidence seems fully to confirm the literal truth of Leland's statement. It is computed that, within the last twenty years, Mr. Rolfe and Mr. Reader have collected, at least, two thousand specimens, and many more must have passed into other hands. If, for the sake of forming an estimate of the amount in previous times, a calculation be made, at the same ratio, for fourteen hundred years, we obtain a total of one hundred and forty

thousand pieces found since the Romans abandoned Richborough: a large number, but probably not exceeding the actual quantity.

The descriptive catalogue which follows, is almost exclusively compiled from the coins preserved in Mr. Rolfe's cabinet, which are in fair, or, at least, in legible condition. It is rendered as full of explanation as is deemed consistent with the space at our disposal, in order to do justice to the interesting monuments themselves, and their claim to a prominent place in this volume, as well as to make the list of some use, for reference and comparison, to those who may be making, or be induced to make, similar collections from other localities. The obverses of the coins it has not been considered necessary to give, except in a few instances; but each series is headed with one or more examples of the style usually assumed by the various Emperors, Empresses, and Cæsars, upon the obverses of their coins.¹

COINS DISCOVERED AT RICHBOROUGH.

BRITISH.



Of this highly-interesting class, only a single specimen is here presented to us; and that, more strictly speaking, should be termed

¹ The numismatic student, who, on this head, may require more ample information, is referred to Mr. Akerman's *Descriptive Catalogue of rare and unedited Roman Coins*, 2 vols. 8vo., London, 1834; an accessible and valuable work on the consular as well as imperial Roman coins. The *Numismatic Manual*, by the same author, may be advantageously consulted by young collectors, to enable them readily to identify coins in a bad or imperfect state of preservation.

Romano-British, as it is comparatively of late date, belonging to Bericus, who, it would appear from his coins, which have only very recently been discovered,¹ and from the testimony of Dio Cassius, was one of the tributary British princes posterior to Cunobeline. It was this Bericus, who, Dio Cassius states, induced the emperor Claudius to send forces to Britain, to espouse his cause against the sons of Cunobeline, who had expelled him from the island. The first known coin of Bericus was found, about two years since, at Farley Heath, in Surrey. It is in gold, and reads, on the obverse, VERIC.COM.F., and on the reverse, REX., beneath a horse. To Mr. Akerman is due the credit of appropriating it to Bericus. The specimen, in silver, shewn in the above cut, I detected, covered with rust, among Mr. Rolfe's miscellaneous Roman coins; and about the same time, another was discovered at Farley Heath, which supplies two letters on the obverse, wanting on the Richborough specimen. Restored, the coin may be read, obverse, (v)ERICV; or, VERICA; a sedent figure: reverse, (c)OMMI.F.; two cornucopias resting upon a vase; in the centre, what is probably intended for a caduceus. This device, an emblem of abundance and prosperity, is purely Roman, as is the workmanship of all the coins of the British princes at this period, and for some time previous. The single cornucopia occurs on coins of the *Emilia* family, and the same object, double, between a caduceus, resting upon a globe, those of the *Antonia* family. The cornucopias and caduceus form the tasteful design on one of the terra cotta lamps recently discovered at Colchester. In all these instances the horns terminate in heads of animals.

¹ It is probable, however, that the hitherto unappropriated coins reading VIR. and VIRIC., may be assigned to Bericus.

Consular Denarii.

ANTONIA.

| | | | | | No. of specimens |
|-------------|-------|-----------------------|-------------|--|---------------------|
| <i>Obv.</i> | | VIR.R.P.C.; a galley. | <i>Rev.</i> | LEG.XII.; the Roman eagle between two military standards | 1 |

This is an ancient forgery, being copper plated with silver. An immense number of these plated denarii were introduced into Britain by the Romans. They occur of other families, as well as imperial. A few years since, a considerable number, packed in tiers, were found in London. Of these, the latest were of Claudius. Among them are several of Antony, who, we are told by Pliny, excited mutiny in his troops by adulterating the silver coinage. But such forgeries were not restricted to any particular reign; they appear to have been more or less common at all periods. Denarii were also forged in lead: a consular one of this class appears in the Richborough collection, and several of the imperial series, found in the Thames, are preserved in my own cabinet.

Platoria.

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------|----------|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Obv.</i> | A female head. | <i>Rev.</i> | PLAETORI | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| | A consular denarius, in lead, much worn | | | - | - | - | - | 1 |

Imperial Roman Coins.

AUGUSTUS.

[B.C. 27, to A.D. 14. Style: CAESAR . DIVI . F . IMP.—IMP . CAESAR . DIVI . F . AVGVSIVS.—DIVVS . AVGVSTVS . PATER . PATRIAE.]

*Reverses.**Second Brass.*

| | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|--|---|---|---|
| 1. | S.C. | An eagle, with expanded wings, upon a globe | - | - | 1 |
| 2. | S.C. | An altar; beneath, PROVIDENT. | - | - | 1 |
| 3. | ROM . ET . AUG. | An altar; on each side a winged Victory, upon a pedestal, extending a wreath towards each other over the altar | | | 1 |
| 4. | CONSENSV . SENAT..... | The emperor, seated, holding an olive branch and a globe | - | - | 1 |
| 5. |VN . POTEST . XVI.....S.C. | A female figure, seated, holding the hasta pura and a patera | - | - | 1 |

Colonial Third Brass.

Obv. COH. PRAE. PHIL. Three military standards. *Rev.* VIC. AVG.
across the field; Victory, with a wreath and a palm branch, upon
an altar - - - - - 1

Denarius in lead.

Rev. IMP. CAESAR. A rostral column surmounted by a statue - 1
Total 7

M. AGRIPPA.

[B.C. 9 to B.C. 13. Style: M. AGRIPPA.]

s.c. Neptune, standing, holding a dolphin and a trident - - 2

TIBERIUS.

[A.D. 14 to A.D. 37. Style: TI. CAESAR. AVG. F. IMPERAT.—TI.
CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVGVST. IMP.]

Denarius.

Rev.MAX. Jupiter seated; (a plated coin) - - - 1

Second Brass.

Obv. TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVG. P. M. TR. POT. XX.... In the
centre, s.c. *Rev.* SALVS. AVGVSTA. Head of the goddess Salus 1
Total 2

CALIGULA.

[A.D. 37 to A.D. 41. Style: C. CAESAR. AVG. GERMANICVS.]

Rev. VESTA; s.c.; the goddess Vesta, seated - - - 2

Both these specimens are countermarked CENP.

CLAUDIUS.

[A.D. 41 to A.D. 54. Style: TI. CLAVDIVS. CAESAR. AVG. IMP. P.P.
—TI. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. GERM.]

First Brass.

Rev. SPES. AVGVSTA.; figure of Hope; s.c. - - - 1
Reverses. *Second Brass.*

1. s.c.; Minerva, galeated, hurling a javelin; on her left arm, a circular buckler (fig. 1, pl. VI.) - - - 9
2. CERES. AVGVSTA. s.c.; Ceres, seated - - - 1
- CONSTANTIAE. AVGVSTI.; a helmeted figure, standing; in his left hand a spear - - - 2

Total 13

NERO.

[A.D. 50 to A.D. 68. Style: IMP. NERO. CAESAR. AVG. GERMANICVS.—
IMP. NERO. CAESAR. AVG. GERM. P.P.]

*Reverses.**Gold.*

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. VII. COS. IIII. P. P. EX S.C. ; a military figure, standing | 1 |
| 2. IVPITER. OVSTOS ; Jupiter, sitting, holding a thunderbolt and the hasta pura - - - - - | 1 |

Second Brass.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. PONTIF. MAX. TR. POT. IMP. PP.—S.C. ; a figure of Apollo holding the lyre and plectrum - - - - - | 1 |
| 2. SECVRITAS. AVGVSTI.—S.C. ; figure of Security, seated ; at her feet an altar and torch - - - - - | 1 |
| 3. VICTORIA. AVGVSTI.—S.C. ; Victory, marching, with wreath and palm branch - - - - - | 1 |
| 4. S.C. ; Victory carrying a globe, on which are the letters S.P.Q.R. - - - | 6 |

Total 11

VESPASIAN.

[A.D. 69 to A.D. 79. Style : CAESAR. VESPASIANVS.—IMP. CAES.
VESPASIAN. AVG. P. P.]

*Reverses.**Silver.*

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. IVPITER. OVSTOS. ; Jupiter, standing - - - - - | 1 |
| 2. ...ΕΟΥ. ΙΕΡΟΥ. Δ. ; an eagle - - - - - | 1 |
| 3. SALVS. AVG. ; a female figure, seated, holding a patera - - - | 1 |

Second Brass.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. FIDES. PVBLICA.—S.C. ; a female figure, standing, holding a patera and cornucopia - - - - - | 1 |
| 2. FORTVNA. AVGVSTI.—S.C. ; Fortune, standing, with rudder and cornucopia - - - - - | 2 |
| 3. IVDAEA. CAPTA.—S.C. ; a female figure, seated, in a dejected posture, beneath a palm tree, behind which is a pile of arms (fig. 2, pl. VI) | 1 |
| 4. S.C. ; an eagle upon a globe - - - - - | 4 |
| 5. PROVIDENT.—S.C. ; an altar - - - - - | 1 |

Total 12

TITUS.

[A.D. 69 to A.D. 81. Style : T. CAESAR. IMP. AVG. F.—IMP. T. CAES. VESP. AVG.]

Silver.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>Rev.</i> TR. P. VIII...COS. V. P. ; Venus leaning upon a column ; in her right hand an apple, in her left the hasta - - - - - | 1 |
|--|---|

DOMITIAN.

[A.D. 69 to A.D. 96. Style : DOMITIANVS. CAES. AVG. F.—IMP.
CAES. DOMIT. (OR DOMITIANVS) AVG. GERM.]

Reverses.

Silver.

1. IMP. XXI. COS. XV. CENS. P.P.P.; Pallas, armed, in the attitude of hurling a javelin - - - - - 1
2. IMP. XXII. COS. XVII. CENS. P.P.P.; Pallas standing upon a pedestal; before her an owl - - - - - 1

Second Brass.

1. FIDEI. PVBLICAE.—S.C.: a female figure, standing, holding in her right hand ears of corn, and in her left a basket of fruit - 1
2. FORTVNA. AVGVSTI.—S.C.; Fortune, standing, with rudder and cornucopia - - - - - 2
3. IOVI. CONSERVAT.—S.C.; Jupiter standing - - - - - 1
4. MONETA. AVGVSTI.—S.C.; the goddess Moneta, with scales and cornucopia, standing - - - - - 1
5. VIRTVTI. AVGVSTI.—S.C.; a female figure, standing, helmeted; her left foot upon a helmet; in her left arm a parazonium, in her right hand a spear - - - - - 1

Total 8

NERVA.

[A.D. 96 to A.D. 98. Style: IMP. NERVA. CAES. AVG. GERM. P.P.]

Silver.

- Rev.* FORTVNA. P.R.; a female figure, seated; in her right hand ears of corn, in her left the hasta pura - - - - - 1

TRAJAN.

[A.D. 98 to A.D. 117. Style: IMP. CAES. NERVA. TRAIAN. AVG. GERM. DAC. PARTH.]

Reverses

Silver.

1. PARTHICO. P.M. TR. P. COS. VI. P.P.S.P.Q.R.; across the field, PROVID.; a draped female figure, standing - - - - - 1
2. COS. V. P.P.S.P.Q.R.; OPTIMO. PRINCIPI.; a trophy; (*Mr. Reader*¹) - 1
3. S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI.; a captive, seated - - - - - 1
4. One of the same type in lead - - - - - 1

Second Brass.

1. TR. POT. COS. IIII. P.P.—S.C.; Victory carrying a globe inscribed S.P.Q.R. 1
2. TR. POT.; S.C.; a female figure, seated - - - - - 1
3. S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI.—S.C.; the emperor on horseback, riding over a prostrate figure - - - - - 1

Total 7

¹ Where this reference occurs, it denotes the coin to be in the cabinet of E. F. S. Reader, Esq. of Sandwich.

HADRIAN.

[A.D. 117 to A.D. 138. Style: IMP. CAES. TRAIANVS. HADRIANVS. AVG.—IMP.
CAES. DIVI. TRA. PARTH. P. DIVI. NER. NEP. TRAIANVS. HADRIANVS. AVG.]

*Reverses.**First Brass.*

1. LIBERTAS. PVBLICA.—S.C.; figure of Liberty, seated - - 1

Second Brass.

1. COS. III.—S.C.; a female figure, standing, feeding a serpent from a
patera - - - - - 1
2. MONETA. AVGVSTI.—S.C.; the goddess Moneta, standing - - 1
3. PONT. MAX. TR. POT. COS. III.—S.C.; figure of Victory - - 1

Total

 4

SABINA (wife of Hadrian).

Large Brass.

- Obv.* SABINA. AVGVSTA. HADRIANI. AVG. P.P. *Rev.* VENERI.....; S.C.;
Venus, standing - - - - - 1

ÆLIUS CÆSAR.

[A.D. 136 to A.D. 138.]

Large Brass.

1. *Obv.* L. ÆLIVS. CÆSAR.; naked head of Ælius. *Rev.* S.C.; a female
figure, seated, feeding a serpent rising from an altar; below, SALVS 1
Second Brass.

2. *Rev.* TR. POT. COS.—S.C.; female figure, standing, holding a cornu-
copia - - - - - 1

Total

 2

ANTONINVS PIVS.

[A.D. 138 to A.D. 161. Style: IMP. ANTONINVS. AVG. PIVS. P.P.—
IMP. CAES. T. AEL. HADR. ANTONINVS. AVG.—DIVVS. ANTONINVS.]

Silver.

- Rev.* AVRELIVS. CÆSAR. AVG. PII. F. COS.; head of the young Aurelius 1
Reverses. *First Brass.*

1. ...TR. P...; a woman holding two military standards, (*Mr. Reader*) 1
2. TIBERIS.—S.C.; the Tiber personified, seated on the ground, (*Mr.*
Reader) - - - - - 1
3. FELICIT.....; S.C.; Type of Felicity, standing - - 1
4. GENIO. SENATVS.—S.C.; a figure in the toga, standing, holding a
laurel branch - - - - - 1

Total

 5

FAUSTINA THE ELDER (wife of Antoninus Pius).

[Style: FAVSTINA . AVGVSTA. ; FAVSTINA . AVG . ANTONINI . AVG.]

Reverses.

Silver.

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| 1. VESTA. ; Vesta, seated, holding the palladium | - | - | - | 1 |
| 2. AVGVSTA. ; female figure seated | - | - | - | 1 |
| 3. Another, much rubbed from circulation | - | - | - | 1 |

Total 3

MARCUS AURELIUS.

[A.D. 161 to A.D. 180. Style: AVRELIVS . CAESAR . AVG . PII . F.—IMP . CAES.

M . AVREL . ANTONINVS . AVG . P . M.—DIVVS . M . ANTONINVS . PIVS.]

Reverses.

First Brass.

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| 1. TR . POT . XIII . COS... ; S . C. ; figure of Hope | - | - | - | 1 |
| 2. PROV . DEOR . TR . P . XV . COS . III.—S . C. ; a female figure, standing, holding a globe in her right hand, in her left, a cornucopia | - | - | - | 1 |
| 3. SALVTI . AVGVSTOR . TR . P . XVII.—S . C. ; a female figure, standing, feeding a serpent entwined round an altar ; beneath, COS . III. | - | - | - | 1 |
| 4. CONSECRATIO...S . C. ; an eagle, bearing on its back the deceased emperor ; in its claws, a thunderbolt | - | - | - | 1 |

Total 4

FAUSTINA THE YOUNGER (daughter of Pius and wife of M. Aurelius).

Style: FAVSTINA . AVGVSTA.—FAVSTINA . AVGVSTA . PII . AVG . FIL.

Silver.

- | | |
|--|---|
| Rev. FEOVND . AVGVSTAE ; a female figure, standing, with four children | 1 |
|--|---|

Large Brass.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Rev. AETERNITAS . S . C. ; a draped female figure, standing, holding in her extended right hand a globe surmounted by a phoenix | 1 |
|---|---|

Reverses.

Second Brass.

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. FELICITAS.—S . C. ; type of Felicity | - | - | - | 2 |
| 2. MATRI . MAGNAE.—S . C. ; Cybele seated between two lions | - | - | - | 1 |
| 3. Illegible | - | - | - | 1 |

Total 5

LUCIUS VERUS.

[A.D. 161 to A.D. 169. Style: IMP . CAESAR . L . AVREL . VERVS.—

VERVS . AVG . ARM . PARTH . MAX.]

Reverses.

Silver.

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. PROVID . DEOR . TR . P . II . COS . I. ; a female figure, standing, holding a globe and cornucopia (<i>Mr. Reader</i>) | - | - | - | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|-------|---|
| 2. TR. P. V. IMP. III. COS. II.; a figure, wearing the Phrygian cap and trousers, seated, with hands bound behind him; by his side, a bow, quiver of arrows, and shield | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| | | | | Total | 2 |

LUCILLA (wife of Lucius Verus).

Second Brass.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| <i>Rev.</i> IVNO. REGINA.—S.C.; Juno, standing; at her feet, a peacock | - | 1 |
|--|---|---|

COMMODUS.

[A.D. 166 to A.D. 192. Style: L. AVR. COMMODVS. CAESAR.—M. COM. ANT. AVG. P. BRIT. FEL.]

Silver.

| | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Rev.</i> LIB. AVG. VIII P. M. TR. P. XVII. COS.....; a female figure, standing, with tessera and cornucopia | - | - | - | - | 1 |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|

Second Brass.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|-------|---|
| <i>Rev.</i> TR. P. V. IMP.—S. C.—; a military figure, with trophy, marching (<i>Mr. Reader</i>) | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| | | | | Total | 2 |

SEVERUS.

[A.D. 197 to A.D. 211. Style: L. SEPT. SEV. AVG. IMP.—IMP. CAES. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG.—SEVERVS. AVG. PART. MAX.—SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG. BRIT.]

First Brass.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| <i>Rev.</i> (<i>Adventui. Aug.</i>) FELICISSIMO; the emperor, on horseback | - | 1 |
| Another, illegible | - | 1 |

Reverses.

Silver.

| | | |
|--|---|-------|
| 1. AEQVITATI. AVGG.; figure of Equity, standing (<i>Mr. Reader</i>) | - | 1 |
| 2. ANNONAE. AVGG.; a female figure, with her right foot upon the prow of a galley, and holding ears of corn in her right hand; in her left arm, a cornucopia | - | 1 |
| 3. INDVLGENTIA. AVGG. IN. CARTH.; Cybele, holding a thunderbolt and the hasta, riding upon a lion | - | 1 |
| | | Total |
| | | 5 |

JULIA DOMNA (wife of Severus).

[Style: IVLIA. AVGVSTA.—IVLVA. PIA. FELIX. AVG.]

Reverses.

Silver.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| 1. PIETAS. AVGG.; a female figure, sacrificing at an altar | - | 1 |
|--|---|---|

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|-------|---|
| 2. SÆCVLI . FELICITAS.; a female figure, suckling an infant ; her left foot upon the prow of a galley | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| 3. VESTA . MATER.; Vesta, seated | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| | | | | | Total | 3 |

CARACALLA.

[A.D. 196 to A.D. 217. Style : ANTONINVS . CAESAR.—ANTONINVS . AVGVSTVS.—M . AVREL . ANTONINVS . PIVS . AVG . BRIT.]

Reverses.

PONTIF . TR . P . III.; a figure, standing, holding a globe and spear
P . M . TR . P . XV . COS . III . P . P.; a figure, standing, and holding the hasta ; the right hand raised (*Mr. Reader*)
SEVERI . PII . AVG . FIL.; sacrificial instruments

JULIA MAESA.

(Sister of Julia Domna, and grandmother of Elagabalus.)

Silver.

Obv. IVLIA . MAESA . AVG. *Rev.* SÆCVLI . FELICITAS ; a female figure, standing, and holding a patera and long caduceus ; at her feet a basket of fruit - - - - - 1

SEVERUS ALEXANDER.

[A.D. 221 to A.D. 235. Style : M . AVREL . ALEXANDER . CAES.—IMP . C . M . SEV . ALEXAND.—IMP . ALEXANDER . PIVS . AVG.]

Reverses.

Silver.

1. FIDES . MILIT.; female, with two standards (*Mr. Reader*) - - - 1
2. LIBERALITAS . AVG ; Liberality, standing, with tessera and cornucopia - - - - - 1
3. PONTIF . MAX . TR . P . II . COS . II . PP.; Rome, seated, in her right hand, a figure of Victory ; in her left, a hasta - - - 1
4. P . M . TR . P . II . COS . II.; a figure, standing - - - 1
5. SALVS . PVBLICA.; a female figure, seated, feeding a serpent (*Mr. Reader*) - - - - - 1

First Brass.

1. PROVIDENTIA . AVG.; type of Providence, standing (*Mr. Reader*) - 1

Second Brass.

1. PROVIDENTIA . AVG.—S . C.; a female figure, standing, holding ears of corn over a modius ; in her left hand, a cornucopia - - - 1

Total 7

GORDIANUS THE THIRD.

[A.D. 238 to A.D. 244. Style : IMP . C . M . ANT . GORDIANVS.—IMP . GORDIANVS . PIVS . FEL . AVG]

*Reverses.**Silver.*

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| 1. DIANA . LVCIFERA.; Diana, standing, holding a torch | - | - | 1 |
| 2. FELICITAS . TEMPOR.; Felicity, standing; in her right hand, a caduceus; in her left, a cornucopia | - | - | 1 |
| 3. LAETITIA . AVG . N.; a female, standing, holding a garland and staff (<i>Mr. Reader</i>) | - | - | 1 |

First Brass.

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| 1. FELICIT . TEMPOR.—S. C.; female figure, standing; in her left hand, a long caduceus, in her right, a cornucopia | - | - | 1 |
| 2. AETERNITATI . AVG.—S. C.; the Sun, standing; his right hand raised, in his left, a globe | - | - | 1 |

Billon.

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| SAECVLI . FELICITAS.; a figure, standing; in his right hand, the pilum or javelin; in his left, a globe | - | - | 1 |
| Total | | | 6 |

PHILIP.

[A.D. 244 to A.D. 249. Style: IMP . C . M . IVL . PHILIPPVS . AVG.
—IMP . IVL . PHILIPPVS . P . F . AVG.]

*Reverses.**Silver.*

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| 1. ANNONA . AVG.; a female figure, standing; in her right hand, ears of corn; at her feet, a modius; in her left arm, a cornucopia | - | - | 1 |
| 2. ROMAN . AETERNAE.; Rome, seated | - | - | 1 |

First Brass.

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| 1. SECVRIT . ORBIS.—S. C.; a female figure, seated | - | - | 1 |
| 2. A badly preserved specimen of the <i>Liberalitas</i> type | - | - | 1 |
| Total | | | 4 |

VALERIANUS.

[A.D. 254 to A.D. 260. Style: IMP . C . P . LIC . VALERIANVS . C . F . AVG.]

*Reverses.**Silver, or Billon.*

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| 1. FIDES . MILITVM.; a woman, standing; in each hand a military standard | - | - | 1 |
| 2. SECVRIT . PERPET.; Security, leaning upon a column, and holding the hasta | - | - | 1 |
| Total | | | 2 |

VALERIANUS THE YOUNGER.

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Obv.</i> VALERIANVS . CAES. <i>Rev.</i> IOVI . CRESCENTI.; the infant Jupiter, upon a goat | - | - | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|

GALLIENUS.

[A.D. 263 to A.D. 268. Style: IMP.C.P.LIC.GALLIENVS.AVG.GALLIENVS.P.F.AVG.GERM.]

Reverses.

Billon.

- | | | |
|---|-----------|---|
| 1. GERMANICVS . MAX.....; a trophy, with two captives, sitting | - | 1 |
| 2. VIRTVS . AVGG.; a military figure, holding a standard; in his left hand, a javelin | - - - - - | 1 |

Third Brass.

- | | | |
|--|-----------|----|
| 1. ABYNDANTIA . AVG.; a female figure, pouring fruit from a cornucopia | - | 1 |
| 2. APOLLO . CONSEB.; Apollo, standing; in his right hand a branch | - | 1 |
| 3. APOLLINI . CONS . AVG.; a griffin; in the exergue A | - - | 1 |
| 4. The same; a centaur, holding a globe; in the exergue B | - - | 2 |
| 5. The same; a centaur, drawing a bow | - - - - - | 1 |
| 6. DIANAM . CONS . AVG.; an antelope or ibex; in the exergue XII | - | 3 |
| 7. FORTVNA . REDVX : Fortuna, standing, with rudder and cornucopia | - | 1 |
| 8. LEG.....VI . P . VI . F.; a capricorn | - - - - - | 1 |
| 9. LIBERO . CONS . AVG.; a panther, in the exergue B | - - | 1 |
| 10. NEPTVNO . CONS . AVG.; a sea-horse | - - - - - | 1 |
| 11. PROVID . AVG.; in the field, II.; type of Providence | - - | 1 |
| 12. SALVS . AVG.; in the exergue WS; a female figure, standing; in her right hand, a serpent, which is feeding from a patera in her left | - | 1 |
| 13. VIRTVS . AVG.; Hercules, naked, standing; in his left hand, a globe, his right resting upon a club | - - - - - | 1 |
| 14. VIRTVS . AVGG; a military figure, standing; a javelin in his right hand, in his left, a standard | - - - - - | 1 |
| Total | | 19 |

SALONINA (wife of Gallienus).

Reverses.

Billon.

- | | | |
|---|-----------|---|
| 1. FROVNDITAS . AVG.; a woman, carrying a shield and a cornucopia | - | 1 |
| 2. IVNO . VICTRIX.; Juno, standing | - - - - - | 1 |
| 3. PIETAS . AVG.; type of Piety, standing | - - - - - | 1 |

Third Brass.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|---|
| 1. IVNO . REGINA.; Juno, standing | - - - - - | 1 |
| Total | | 4 |

POSTUMUS.

[A.D. 260 to A.D. 267. Style: IMP.C.M.CASS.LAT.POSTVMVS.
P.F.AVG.—IMP.C.POSTVMVS.P.F.AVG.]

First Brass.

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| HERC . DEVSONIENSI.; figure of Hercules within a temple | - - | 1 |
|---|-----|---|

*Reverses.**Billon.*

| | | |
|---|---------|----|
| 1. FIDES . MILITV.; a woman, holding two military standards | - | 1 |
| 2. IOVI . STATORI.; Jupiter, standing | - - - - | 1 |
| 3. MONETA . AVG.; type of Moneta, standing | - - - - | 1 |
| 4. PAX . AVG.; Peace, standing, with the hasta pura and olive branch | - | 1 |
| 5. P . M . TR . P . COS . III . PP.; a soldier, standing ; in his right hand, a globe ; in his left, a spear | - - - - | 1 |
| 6. PROVIDENTIA . AVG.; type of Providence | - - - - | 1 |
| 7. Two specimens, much corroded and illegible | - - - - | 2 |
| | Total | 10 |

VICTORINUS.

[A.D. 265 to A.D. 267. Style : IMP . C . PI . VICTORINVS . P . F . AVG.]

*Reverses.**Third Brass.*

| | | |
|---|---------|----|
| 1. INVICTVS.; the Sun, marching | - - - - | 1 |
| 2. SALVS . AVG.; Hygeia, standing, holding a patera and serpent | - - - - | 1 |
| 3. VIRTVS . AVG.; a military figure, standing | - - - - | 1 |
| 4. VIRTVS . AVGG.; a vase (<i>unpublished</i>) | - - - - | 1 |
| 5. Ten illegible | - - - - | 10 |
| | Total | 14 |

MARIUS.

[A.D. 267 ; deposed and assassinated in the same year. Style :
IMP . C . M . AVR . MARIVS . P . F . AVG.]*Third Brass.*

| | | |
|---|---------|---|
| Rev. VICTORIA . AVG.; Victory, marching | - - - - | 1 |
|---|---------|---|

TETRICVS.

[A.D. 267 to A.D. 272. Style : IMP . C . TETRICVS . P . F . AVG.—IMP.
C . PESV . TETRICVS . P . F . AVG.]*Reverses.**Third Brass.*

| | | |
|---|---------|----|
| 1. COMES . AVG.; Victory, standing | - - - - | 2 |
| 2. HILARITAS . AVG.; a woman, standing, holding a palm branch and cornucopia | - - - - | 2 |
| 3. SPES . PVBLICA | - - - - | 1 |
| 4. Seven in bad preservation. Some of these belong to the junior Tetricus | - - - - | 7 |
| | Total | 12 |

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS.

[A.D. 268 to A.D. 270. Style : IMP . C . CLAVDIVS . AVG.—DIVO . CLAVDIO.]

Reverses.

Third Brass.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. CONSECRATIO ; an eagle with expanded wings | - | - | - | 1 |
| 2. Idem ; an altar | - | - | - | 5 |
| 3. TR . P . II . COS... ; a female figure holding a flower | - | - | - | 1 |
| 4. FIDES . EXERCIT ; a woman holding two military standards | - | - | - | 1 |
| 5. IOVI . VICTORI ; Jupiter standing | - | - | - | 2 |
| 6. LIBERALITAS . AVG. ; a woman, holding in her right hand the tessera board, in her left, a cornucopia | - | - | - | 3 |
| 7. AVG. ; the goddess Moneta, standing | - | - | - | 1 |

Total 14

QUINTILLUS.

[A.D. 270. Style : IMP . C . M . AVR . CL . QVINTILLVS . AVG.]

Reverses.

Third Brass.

| | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| 1. PAX . AVG. ; a female figure, marching ; in her right hand a flower or branch, in her left, a hasta, transversely | - | - | - | 1 |
| 2. ; a female figure, standing | - | - | - | 1 |

Total 2

AURELIANUS.

[A.D. 270 to A.D. 275. Style : AVRELIIVS . AVG.—IMP . C . AVRELIANVS . AVG.]

Reverses.

Third Brass.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. FORTVNA . REDVX. ; Fortune, seated | - | - | - | 1 |
| 2. CONCORDIA . MILITVM. ; the emperor joining hands with a female figure ; in the exergue, s, and a star | - | - | - | 1 |
| 3. ORIENS . AVG. ; the Sun, standing ; in his left hand a globe, at his feet, a captive | - | - | - | 1 |
| 4. RESTITVTOR . ORBIS ; two figures, a male and female, standing ; the former rests his left hand upon a spear, his right being extended towards the female, who holds towards him a wreath ; in the field, s ; in the exergue, XXI | - | - | - | 1 |

Total 4

TACITUS.

[A.D. 275. Style : IMP . CL . TACITVS . AVG.—IMP . C . M . CL . TACITVS . P . F . AVG.]

Reverses.

Third Brass.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. AEQVITAS . AVG. ; a female figure, standing, holding a cornucopia | - | - | - | 2 |
| 2. FIDES . MILITVM ; a female figure with two standards | - | - | - | 1 |
| 3. PAX . AETERNA ; Peace, standing, and scales. This coin has been washed with silver | - | - | - | 1 |
| 4. TEMPORVM . FELICITAS ; a woman holding a caduceus and cornucopia | - | - | - | 1 |

Total 5

FLORIANUS.

[A.D. 276. Style: IMP. C. FLORIANVS. AVG.]

Third Brass.

Rev. FIDES. MILITVM; a woman with two military standards; in the
exergue, XXIS - - - - - 1

PROBUS.

[A.D. 276 to A.D. 282. Style; IMP. C. PROBUS. P. F. AVG.—IMP. PROBUS. AVG.]

*Reverses.**Third Brass.*

- | | | |
|--|-----------|---|
| 1. MARTI. PACIF.; Mars, marching, holding a branch in his right hand; in his left, a spear and shield; in the exergue, Q. XX | - | 1 |
| 2. PAX. AVG.; in the field, D; a female figure, standing, holding the hasta pura and an olive branch | - - - - - | 1 |
| 3. ROMAE. AETER.; in the exergue, R*H; a temple of six columns, in which is a figure of Rome, seated, and crowned by Victory | - | 3 |
| 4. RESTITVT. ORBIS; the emperor, standing, holding a globe and spear, and crowned by a female figure; in the exergue, XXI | - - | 1 |
| 5. SOLI. INVICTO; the Sun, holding a globe and whip, in a quadriga; in the exergue, R. F., and a thunderbolt | - - - | 1 |
| | Total | 7 |

CARINUS.

[A.D. 282 to A.D. 285. Style: M. AVR. CARINVS. NOB. CAES.—IMP. CARINVS. R. F. AVG.]

Gold.

Obv. IMP. CARINVS. P. AVG.; bust of the emperor, laureated and loricated, to the left; the right hand holds a javelin over the shoulder, and the left, a buckler, on which is Medusa's head. *Rev.* VICTORIA. AVGG.; Victory standing upon a globe, with wreath and palm branch (fig. 3, pl. vi) - - - - - 1

This rare and beautiful coin is in the finest state of preservation, and, in some minute particulars, is an unpublished variety, both as regards the obverse and the reverse. The VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM refers to the successes of Carinus in Gaul, and to those of his brother, Numerianus, in Persia.

NUMERIANUS.

[A.D. 282 to A.D. 284. Style: M. R. NUMERIANVS.—IMP. C. NUMERIANVS. P. F. AVG.]

Reverses.

Third Brass.

| | |
|--|---|
| 1. CLEMENTIA . TEMP. ; in the field, Δ ; in the exergue, XXI ; two figures, standing, holding between them a Victory . . . | 1 |
| 2. PRINCIPI . IVVENT. ; the emperor, standing, in a military habit, holding a spear and globe | 1 |
| Total | 2 |

DIOCLETIANUS.

[A.D. 284 to A.D. 313. Style : IMP . C . DIOCLETIANVS . P . F . AVG.—
C . VAL . DIOCLETIANVS . P . F . AVG.]

Reverses.

Silver.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. VIETVS . MILITVM ; four soldiers before the gate of a castrum ; between them an altar (fig. 6, pl. vi) | 1 |
|---|---|

Second Brass.

| | |
|--|---|
| 1. GENIO . POPVLI . ROMANI ; Genius, standing, holding a cornucopia and patera | 4 |
|--|---|

Third Brass.

| | |
|--|---|
| 1. CONCORDIA . MILITVM ; the emperor and Jupiter, standing, between them Victory, crowning the emperor ; in the field, Δ | 1 |
| 2. Idem ; in the field, H.B. Type as the preceding | 1 |
| 3. PAX . AVGGG. ; in the field, S.P. ; in the exergue, c ; Peace, standing | 1 |
| Total | 8 |

The last is one of the coins bearing the name and effigies of Diocletian, struck, in Britain, by Carausius, to imply that his assumption of the imperial power had been recognized by Diocletian and Maximian. Other coins of this emperor were also struck by Carausius ; they may be detected by peculiarities of fabric, as well as by the three G's in the abbreviation of the word AUGUSTORUM.

MAXIMIANUS.

[A.D. 286 to A.D. 310. Style : MAXIMIANVS . NOB . CAES.—IMP . C . VAL .
MAXIMIANVS . P . F . AVG.]

Reverses.

Second Brass.

| | |
|--|---|
| 1. GENIO . POPVLI . ROMANI ; Genius, standing, with patera and cornucopia ; in the field, XX ^A ₁ ; or B.Γ. ; or S.F. ; or S.A. ; or N. ; in the exergue, P.L.C. ; or TR. ; or ALM. ; or P.T.R. | 7 |
| 2. GENIO . POP . ROM. ; Genius sacrificing at an altar ; in the field, CI ^H ₂ ; in the exergue, P.L.C. | 1 |

Reverses.

3. SACRA . MONETA . AVGG . ET . CAES . NOSTR. ; in the exergue, S.T. ; the goddess Moneta, standing - - - - - 1

Third Brass.

1. CONCORDIA . MILITVM ; Jupiter and Maximian standing face to face ; the former holds in his extended hand a figure of Victory, which the emperor appears to be about to accept - - - - - 2
 2. IOVI . CONSERVAT. ; Jupiter, standing - - - - - 1
 3. IOV . ET . HERCV . CONSER . AVGG. ; Jupiter and Hercules standing face to face ; between them Victory, crowning the former ; in the field, B ; in the exergue, XXI - - - - - 1
 4. VIRTVS . AVGG. ; the emperors, as Jupiter and Hercules, joining hands 1
 5. VOT . XX . H—in three lines, within a wreath - - - - - 1

Total 15

CARAUSIUS.

[A.D. 287 to A.D. 293. Style : IMP . CARAVSIVS . P . F . AVG.—IMP.

C . M . CARAVSIVS . AVG.—CARAVSIVS . ET . FRATRES . SVI.

The coins of this emperor, and those of his successor, Allectus, are of peculiar interest to us. They were almost exclusively minted in Britain, and illustrate the history of this island during the ten years of its separation from the Roman empire. Of this eventful period, as far as regards Britain, no monumental inscriptions are extant ; and the brief notices of historical writers which have come down to us, are in the suspicious language of panegyrists and conquerors.

Silver.

1. MONETA . AVG. ; the goddess Moneta, standing, with scales and cornucopia ; in the exergue, x (weight, 60 grains: fig. 4, pl. vi) -

On his gold and silver coins, Carausius wears a laurel wreath ; on the brass, a radiated diadem.

2. ROM. (*renovat*) ; Romulus and Remus suckled by a wolf ; in the exergue, RXR (weight, 61 grains) - - - - -
 3. ROMANO . RENOVA ; a similar type ; in the exergue, RSR (weight, 51 grains) - - - - -

The letters RSR. may possibly be explained, "*Rutupis signata*,"—"struck at Rutupiae."

The weight of the above coins shows that the last is considerably alloyed with baser metal; and yet it is of an average standard with the coins of Diocletian and Maximian, while the other coins of Carausius are above it.

Reverses.

Third Brass.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. COH. PR.....; four military standards (<i>Mr. Reader</i>) | - | - | 1 |
| 2. COMES. AVG.; Victory, marching, with garland and palm branch | | | 1 |
| 3. FIDES. MILITVM; a woman holding two military standards | - | | 1 |
| 4. FIDES. MILIT.; a similar type, but of better work; in the field, s.p.; in the exergue, c | - | - | 1 |
| 5. FORTVNA. AVG.; Fortune, standing, with rudder and cornucopia | | | 1 |
| 6. LAETIT. AVG.; a woman, standing, holding a garland and the hasta | | | 1 |
| 7. LEG. I. M.I.? a ram; in exergue, ML | - | - | 1 |
| 8. LEG. II. PARTH.; a centaur, holding a globe and a rudder | - | | 1 |
| 9. LEG. VII. CL.; a bull, in the exergue, ML | - | - | 1 |
| 10. MARS. VICTOR; Mars, marching, with a trophy | - | - | 2 |
| 11. MERCVRIO. CON. AVG.; Mercury, with his attributes, standing | - | | 1 |

This unique and unpublished coin is in the cabinet of the author, and was presented to him by M. de Gerville, of Valognes, to whom it had been given, many years previously, by Mr. Reader of Sandwich.

| | | | |
|--|---|---|----|
| 12. MONETA. AVG.; Moneta, standing, holding the scales and cornucopia | | | 4 |
| 13. PAX. AVG.; Peace, standing, holding an olive branch in her right hand, her left hand grasping the hasta pura; in the field, L; in the exergue, ML (fig. 5, pl. vi) | - | - | 1 |
| 14. Same legend. A similar type, with s.c. in the field, and c in the exergue; or, FO. ML; or other letters | - | - | 30 |
| 15. Same legend; Peace, standing, and holding the olive branch in the right hand; in the left, the hasta, held transversely; in the field, s.p.; in the exergue, ML, or P.O., ML; or B.E., MLXXI; or S.P. MLXXI... | - | - | 10 |
| 16. PAX. AVGGG.; Peace, standing, with olive branch, and hasta transversely; in the field, s.p.; in the exergue, M.XXI | - | - | 1 |
| 17. PROVID. AVG.; a woman, standing, her right hand upon a wand which touches a globe upon the ground, and holding in her left arm a cornucopia; in the field, s.p.; in the exergue, c | - | - | 2 |

T

Reverses.

| | |
|---|---|
| 18. SPES . PVBLIC. ; Hope, walking ; in her right hand she holds a flower, while her left slightly raises her garments, that they may not impede her course - - - - - | 1 |
| 19. ...A . AVG. (<i>Trutela</i> ?) ; a female holding a patera over an altar ; in her left hand the hasta - - - - - | 1 |
| 20. VICTORIA . AVG. ; Victory, marching, holding a wreath and palm branch - - - - - | 1 |
| 21. VIC . AVG. ; a female figure holding a <i>bipennis</i> , or double axe (unpublished) - - - - - | 1 |

This is evidently an early production of the mint of Carausius.

| | |
|--|----|
| 22. VIRTVS . AVG. ; a military figure, standing, with spear and shield ; in the exergue, c - - - - - | 3 |
| 23. Badly preserved coins of the <i>Fortuna</i> , <i>Lætitia</i> , and <i>Pax</i> , types - - - | 21 |
| Total | 91 |

ALLECTVS.

[A.D. 293 to A.D. 296. Style : IMP . C . ALLECTVS . P . AVG.—IMP . C .

ALLECTVS . P . F . IN . AVG.]

*Reverses.**Third Brass.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. FIDES . MILITVM ; a woman holding two military standards ; in the field, s.p. - - - - - | 1 |
| 2. LÆTITIA . AVG. ; Lætitia, standing ; in her right hand a garland, in her left, an inverted javelin ; in the field, s.a. ; in the exergue, M L. - - - - - | 1 |
| 3. Same legend. A similar type ; s.a. in the field ; in the exergue, M.S.L. - - - - - | 1 |
| 4. Same legend. A galley, with a mast, and six rowers ; in the exergue, q.c. - - - - - | 3 |
| 5. MONETA . AVG. ; Moneta, standing ; in the field, s.p. ; in the exergue, M.S.L. - - - - - | 1 |
| 6. PAX . AVG. ; Peace, standing ; in her right hand an olive branch, in her left, the hasta pura, held transversely ; in the field, s.a. ; M.L. in the exergue (fig. 7, pl. vi) - - - - - | 6 |
| 7. PROVID . AVG. ; a female figure, standing, holding a globe in her right hand ; in her left, a cornucopia ; in the field, s.p. ; in the exergue, c - - - - - | 2 |
| 8. PROVIDENTIA . AVG. A similar type - - - - - | 2 |
| 9. Same legend. A female figure holding a globe in her right hand ; in her left, the hasta pura ; in the field, s.p. ; in the exergue, c - - - - - | 2 |

Reverses.

| | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| 10. Same legend. A similar type. In the field, s.p.; in the exergue, C.L.; OF M.L. | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| 11. TEMPORVM . FELICI; Felicity, standing, holding in her right hand a long caduceus, which rests upon the ground; in her left, a cornucopia; in the field, s.p.; in the exergue, M.L. | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| 12. VIRTVS . AVG.; a galley, with mast and rowers; in the exergue, q.c., or q.L. (fig. 8, pl. vi) | - | - | - | - | - | - | 21 |
| Total | | | | | | | 43 |

The galleys represented upon these coins, furnish us with examples of the ships which first obtained for Britain the sovereignty of the sea; and, for the space of nine years, protected the island in an independent government. The Romans, under Constantius, effected a landing on the southern coast, having evaded the fleet of Allectus (stationed off the Isle of Wight), which was enveloped in a thick fog. A land engagement reduced Britain once more to a province.

CONSTANTIUS I.

[A.D. 293 to A.D. 306. Style: FL . VAL . CONSTANTIVS . NOB . CAES.
—IMP . CONSTANTIVS . P . F . AVG.]

Reverses.

Second Brass.

| | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. GENIO . POPVLI . ROMANI; Genius, standing, holding in his right hand a patera, in his left, a cornucopia; in the field, XX ¹ ; in the exergue, ALN. | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| 2. Same legend; similar type; in the field, a and a star; in exergue, TR. Another, with s and a star in the field; and one without any letter in the field or in the exergue | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Total | | | | | | | 4 |

HELENA (wife of Constantius and mother of Constantine).

Style: FL . IVL . HELENA . AVGVSTA.

Reverses

Third Brass.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. SECVBITAS . REIPVBLICE. (<i>sic.</i>); A woman, standing, dressed in the stola, and holding an olive branch; in the exergue, P . TR., or other letters | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| 2. PAX PVBLICA; a female figure, holding an olive branch and the hasta; in the exergue, TRP. | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5 |
| Total | | | | | | | 8 |

THEODORA (second wife of Constantius Chlorus).

[STYLE: FL. MAX. THEODORA. AVG.]

Reverse.

Third Brass.

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. PIETAS. ROMANA; a female, holding a child to her bosom; in the exergue, TRP. - - - - - | 12 |
|--|----|

To this lady must be assigned the following unique and unpublished coin (fig. 13, pl. vi.).

- | | |
|---|----|
| <i>Obv.</i> MXATIODOR...; head of Theodora to the right | |
| <i>Rev.</i> PAX. PVBLICA; a female figure, with branch and hasta; in the exergue, III. - | 1 |
| Total | 13 |

GALERIUS MAXIMIANUS.

[A.D. 292 to A.D. 311. Style: IMC. C. GAL. VAL. MAXIMIANUS. P. F. AVG.]

Reverse.

Second Brass.

- | | |
|--|---|
| GENIO. EXERCITVS; Genius, standing, with a cornucopia in the left arm, and holding a patera in the right hand over an altar; in the field, B; in the exergue, ANT. - - - - - | 1 |
|--|---|

MAXENTIVS.

[A.D. 306 to 312. Style: MAXENTIVS. NOB. C.—IMP. MAXENTIVS. P. F. AVG.]

Reverses.

Second Brass.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. CONSERVATORES. KART. SVAE.; a female figure, standing within a temple of six columns; in the exergue, P. K. F. - - - - - | 1 |
|--|---|

Third Brass.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. VOT. Q. Q. MVL. X. within a wreath - - - - - | 1 |
| Total | 2 |

ROMULUS (son of Maxentius).

Third Brass.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>Obv.</i> DIVO. ROMVLO. NVBIS. CONS.; bare head of Romulus. | |
| <i>Rev.</i> AETER- NAE. MEMORIAE; a mausoleum, surmounted by an eagle - | 1 |

LICINIUS.

[A.D. 307 to A.D. 324. Style: IMP. C. VAL. LICIN. LICINIUS. P. F. AVG.]

Reverses.

Third Brass.

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1. GENIO. POP. ROM.; Genius, standing, holding a patera and cornu- copia; in the field, T. F.; in the exergue, PTR., or A. S.; PTR., or T. S.; PTR.; or S. F., PLN. - - - - - | 10 |
| 2. IOVI. CONSERVATORI; a figure of Jupiter, holding a Victory and the hasta; at his feet, an eagle and a captive; in the field, M; in the exergue, SMNA - - - - - | 2 |
| Total | 12 |

LICINIUS THE YOUNGER.

Third Brass.

Obv. LICINIVS.IVN.NOB.C.; laureated head *Rev.* illegible - - 1

CONSTANTINUS.

[A.D. to 306 to A.D. 337. Style: FL. VAL. CONSTANTINVS.NOB.C.—CONSTANTINVS.

AVG.—IMP.CONSTANTINVS.P.F.AVG.—CONSTANTINVS.MAX.AVG.]

Reverses.

Second Brass.

MARTI . PATRI . CONSERVATORI; in the field, S. R.; in the exergue, PTR. 1

Third Brass.

1. BEATA . TRANQVILLITAS ; an altar, inscribed VOTIS . XX.; in the exergue, the letters, PTR., or PLC., or ATR., or STR., or P.LON.; in the field of the coins with PLC, are the letters C.R. - - 30
2. COMITI . AVGG.NN ; the Sun, holding a globe and a whip; in the exergue, PLN. - - - 3
3. D . N . CONSTANTINI . MAX . AVG. round a wreath enclosing VOT . XX.; in the exergue, STR., or ST., or other letters - - 5
4. GLORIA . EXERCITVS ; two soldiers, standing, armed with spears and shields; between them, two standards; in the exergue, SMKB., or SMNS., or other letters - - 10
5. IOVI . CONSERVATORI . AVGG.N.N. ; Jupiter, standing, holding a Victory and the hasta; at his feet, an eagle; in the exergue, TSC. 1
6. MARTI . PATRI . PROPVG.; Mars, in the attitude of combating; in the exergue, PLN. - - 2
7. MARTI . CONSERVATORI ; Mars, standing, armed; in the field, T . P.; in the exergue, PTR. - - 2
8. PROVIDENTIAE . AVGG.; a female figure, standing, holding a labarum in her left hand, her right joining that of another female figure in a galley holding a cornucopia; in the exergue, S.ARL. - 1

This is an exceedingly rare type; it is described by Bاندوري, who calls the female on the right “a military figure.”

9. PROVIDENTIAE . AVGG.; the gate of a castrum; in exergue, PTRR. 4
10. ROMAE . AETERNAE ; Rome, seated - - 1
11. SARMATIA . DEVICTA ; Victory, marching, with palm branch and trophy; a captive on the ground; in the exergue, PTR., or PLC. 8
12. SOLI . INVICTO ; the Sun, standing; the right hand extended and holding a globe in the left; in the exergue, PTR. - 1
13. SOLI . INVICTO . COMITI ; radiated head of the Sun - 1

Reverses.

14. Same legend ; the Sun, standing ; his right hand raised, his left holding a globe ; in the field, T.F. ; in the exergue, PTR. ; or B.S. PTR. ; or C.S. PARL. ; or a star and PTR. ; or T.R. and a star, and QABL. ; or T.F., PLN., etc. - - - - - 30

These coins are of different module.

15. S.P.Q.R.OPTIMO.PRINCIPI ; three standards ; in the exergue, RS. 1
 16. VICTORIAE.LANTAE.PRINC.PERP. ; two winged Victories, holding a wreath in which is VOT.PR. ; between them, an altar ; in the exergue, STR., or PLN., or TT. - - - - - 10
 17. The same ; similar type. (This has been washed.) - - - 1
 18. VIRTVS.EXERCIT. ; a trophy between two captives - - - 1
 19. The same legend : a labarum, inscribed VOT.XX., between two captives ; in the exergue, P.LON., or PLN., etc. - - - 5
 20. The apotheosis of Constantine ; the emperor, ascending to heaven in a quadriga ; from the clouds a hand stretched out towards him. The obverse bears a veiled head, DIV.CONSTANTINVS.AVG.C. 2
-
- Total 120

FAUSTA (wife of Constantine).

[Style : FLAV.MAX.FAUSTA.AVG.]

*Reverses.**Third Brass.*

1. SALVS.REIPUBLICAE ; a veiled female, standing, suckling two infants ; in the exergue, P.LON. - - - - - 1
 2. Same legend ; similar type, with STR. in the exergue. - - - 1
-
- Total 2

The first of these two coins, with the letters P.LON., denoting its having been minted at Londinium, is extremely rare.

CRISPUS (son of Constantine).

[A.D. 317 to A.D. 326. Style : CRISPVS.NOBI.L.C.—IVL.CRISPVS.NOB.CAES.]

*Reverses.**Third Brass.*

1. BEATA.TRANQVILITAS (*sic.*) ; an altar, with a globe upon it, and inscribed, VOTIS.XX. ; in the field, F.B. ; in the exergue, P.LON. - 5
 2. BEATA.TRANQVILLITAS. ; a similar type, with STR., etc., in the exergue - - - - - 3
 3. CAESARVM.NOSTROVM, round a wreath in which is, VOT.X. ; in the exergue, T.T., and other letters - - - - - 8

Reverses.

| | |
|--|-------|
| 4. PROVIDENTIAE. CAESS.; the gate of a castrum ; in the exergue, STR. | 1 |
| 5. VIRTVS. EXERCIT.; two captives upon the ground ; between them a labarum, inscribed, VOT. XX.; in the exergue, PTR. | - - 1 |
| Total | 18 |

DELMATIUS (nephew of Constantine).

Third Brass.

| | |
|--|-------|
| 1. <i>Obv.</i> FL. DELMATIVS. NOB. CAES.; laureated head of Delmatius. <i>Rev.</i> GLORIA. EXERCITVS; two soldiers, standing, with spears and shields; between them a standard, from the top of which is sus- pended a banner with x ; in the exergue, PCONST | - - 1 |
|--|-------|

CONSTANTINVS II (son of Constantine).

[A.D. 317 to A.D. 340. Style: CONSTANTINVS. CAESAR.—FL. CL. CON-
STANTINVS. IVN. N. C.—D. N. CONSTANTINVS. IVN. NOB. C.]

| | |
|---|----------|
| 1. BEATA. TRANQVILLITAS ; altar and globe and three stars ; in the exergue, STR., or CR. and PLC. | - - - 8 |
| 2. Same legend ; similar type ; in field, F.B.; in exergue, P.LON. (fig. 9, pl. vi.) | - - - 2 |
| 3. Same legend ; similar type ; in field, F. A.; in exergue, P.LON. | - 1 |
| 4. BEATA. TRANQLITAS (<i>sic.</i>); in exergue, P.LON. | - - 4 |
| 5. CAESARVM. NOSTROEVM.; in the field of the coin, surrounded by a wreath, VOT.V.; in the exergue, Q.V., or SIS., or other letters | - 5 |
| 6. Same legend ; in the field, VOT. X.; in the exergue, P.LON., or PTR. | 4 |
| 7. CLARITAS.REIPVBLICAE ; the Sun, standing ; his right arm raised, and the left holding a whip ; in the exergue, AQT. | - - 1 |
| 8. Same legend ; the Sun, standing ; his right hand raised, in the left, a globe ; in the field, T. R.; in the exergue, ATL., or FT. and PTR. | - - - 2 |
| 9. GLORIA. EXERCITVS ; two soldiers, standing, armed with spears and shields ; between them, two standards | - - - 60 |

There are numerous varieties of this type so common to the Constantine family. Some have a wreath or palm branch between the standards ; others have only one standard, or a labarum with the monogram of Christ (fig. 18, pl. vi.), or other letters. The exergue marks on those found at Richborough, are PLC., TRP., P. CONST., etc.

Reverses.

| | | |
|---|-----------|----|
| 10. PROVIDENTIAE . CAES. ; gate of a castrum ; in the exergue, STR., or P.LON., or P.CON. | - - - - - | 10 |
| 11. VICTORIAE . LAETAE . PRINCE . PERP. ; as on the coins with similar legend of his father (see p. 142). | - - - - - | |
| 12. VIRTUS . AVGVSTI ; a military figure, standing, with spear and shield | - - - - - | 1 |
| | Total | 98 |

CONSTANS.

(Son of Constantine the Elder and Fausta.)

[A.D. 333 to A.D. 350. Style : FL . LVL . CONSTANS.—FL . CONSTANS .
P . F . AVG.—D . N . CONSTANS . P . F . AVG.]

*Reverses.**Third Brass.*

| | | |
|---|-----------|----|
| 1. FEL . TEMP . REPARATIO ; a soldier leading a captive from a hut ; in the exergue, TRP. ; and on another, PLC. | - - - - - | 2 |
| 2. Same legend. A military figure transfixing, with his spear, a horseman and his horse, which have fallen to the ground ; various letters in the exergue | - - - - - | 12 |

These are of four different sizes.

| | | |
|--|-----------|----|
| 3. Same legend. A phoenix upon a funeral pile | - - - - - | 10 |
| 4. Same legend. A galley steered by a winged Victory ; upon the galley, to the left, stands the emperor, holding, in his right hand, a Victory ; in his left, a labarum, with the monogram of Christ ; in the field, H ; in the exergue, PTR. | - - - - - | 3 |
| 5. GLORIA . EXERCITVS ; two military figures, with spear and shield, standing ; between them, a military standard ; on some of the standards upon these coins, is the monogram of Christ ; on others, the letter M, or a star ; in the exergue, TRPS., or PLS., or AQS., or other letters | - - - - - | 25 |
| 6. VICTORIAE . D . D . AVGG . Q . N . N. ; two Victories standing face to face, holding a laurel wreath in the right hand, and a palm branch in the left ; between them, a palm branch ; in the field of others is the letter D, or M, or E, or a leaf, or a star ; in the exergue, TRS., or TRP, or other letters | - - - - - | 24 |
| 7. VIRTUS . AVGG . N . N. ; a soldier, standing, with spear and shield | - - - - - | 1 |
| | Total | 77 |

CONSTANTIUS II.

(Second son of Constantine and Fausta.)

[A.D. 323 to A.D. 361. Style: CONSTANTIVS . CAESAR.—CONSTANTIVS . NOB.
C.—D . N . CONSTANTIVS . P . F . AVG.—FL . IVL . CONSTANTIVS . AVG.]

Reverses.

Silver.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. VOTIS . XXX . MVLTVS . XXXX, in four lines, within a wreath ; in the exergue, S.COM. - - - - - | 2 |
|--|---|

Second Brass.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. HOC . SIGNO . VICTOR . ERIS ; the emperor, standing, wearing the paludamentum, and holding in his right hand a labarum in which is the monogram of Christ ; in his left hand is a short sword ; behind him, standing, a Victory, who is extending a wreath towards the head of the emperor ; in the field, III ; in the ex- ergue, *SIRA. (fig. 10, pl. vi) - - - - - | 2 |
|---|---|

Third Brass.

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1. CONCORDIA . MILITVM . ; a military figure in the paludamentum, hold- ing, in each hand, a labarum, in which is the monogram of the word Christ ; in the exergue, ΔSIS. - - - - - | 1 |
| 2. CONSTANTIVS . CAESAR across the field of the coin ; above, a star ; below, PTR. The obverse bears the laureated head of Constan- tius, without inscription - - - - - | 1 |
| 3. FEL . TEMP . REPARATIO ; a military figure, armed with shield and spear, striking at an enemy, who is falling from his horse ; in the exergue, AMD. - - - - - | 1 |
| 4. Same legend. Similar type, with slight varieties. The exergual letters are chiefly ALEΔ, or CSLC, or CPLC. - - - - - | 14 |
| 5. Same legend. A phoenix upon a funeral pile - - - - - | 2 |
| 6. Same legend. The emperor, in a galley, habited in the paludamen- tum ; in his right hand a figure of Victory ; in his left, a labarum with the monogram of Christ ; at the stern, a sedent Victory ; in the exergue, PLS. - - - - - | 6 |
| 7. Same legend. The emperor, standing, wearing the paludamentum ; in his right hand a figure of Victory, his left resting on a laba- rum with a monogram of Christ - - - - - | 1 |
| 8. GLORIA . EXERCITVS ; two soldiers, with standards, etc., as on the coins of Constantine and Constans - - - - - | 12 |

Total 42

Coins of the City of Rome, struck by Constantine or his Sons.

Third Brass.

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. <i>Obv.</i> VRBS . ROMA ; galeated head of Rome. <i>Rev.</i> Romulus and Remus suckled by a wolf ; above, two stars ; or two stars divided by a palm branch ; in the exergue, P.CONST. ; or ∪SLC. ; or PLC. ; or SLC. ; or TRP. ; and TRS. - - - - - | 50 |
|--|----|

U

| | |
|---|----|
| 2. <i>Obv.</i> VRBS . ROMA. <i>Rev.</i> Victory, standing, as on the following coins of Constantinople - - - - - | 1 |
| 3. <i>Obv.</i> ROMA ; a helmeted female head. <i>Rev.</i> A military figure, standing; in the field, the letters P . R. (<i>Tanini</i> , tab. v, fig. 3) - | 1 |
| Total | 52 |

Coins of Constantinople, struck by Constantine or his Sons.

Third Brass.

- Obv.* CONSTANTINOPOLIS ; a youthful female head, wearing a laureated helmet ; bust, in armour, and a sceptre resting on the shoulder.
Rev. Victory holding the hasta pura and a shield ; her right foot upon the prow of a galley ; in the exergue, P . CONST ; or TRP . and TRS . ; or PLG ., etc. One specimen, on the *obv.* reads VRBS . ROMA (6)

MAGNENTIUS.

[A.D. 250 to A.D. 253. Style : D . N . MAGNENTIVS . P . P . AVG .—IM .
 CAE . MAGNENTIVS . AVG .]

Reverses.

Second Brass.

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1. SALVS . D . D . NN . AVG . ET . CAES ; monogram of Christ between the letters alpha and omega; in the exergue, ANB. - - - | 2 |
| 2. Same legend. Similar type. In the exergue, TRS. - - - | 1 |
| 3. FELICITAS . REIPVBLICE (<i>sic</i>) ; Magnentius, standing, wearing the paludamentum ; in his right hand a Victory, in his left, a labarum, with the monogram of Christ ; in the field, A ; in the exergue, TRS. - | 6 |
| 4. GLORIA . ROMANORVM ; the emperor, on horseback, thrusting his spear at an enemy on his knee ; beneath, a shield and broken javelin ; in the exergue, TRS. - - - - - | 3 |
| 5. VICTORIAE . DD . NN . AVG . ET . CAES . ; two Victories holding a wreath, in which is VOT . V . MVLT . X ; in the exergue, TRS ., or TRP . - | 7 |
| 6. Same legend. Similar type. In this coin the wreath is affixed to the trunk of a tree - - - - - | 1 |
| Total | 20 |

DECENTIUS.

[A.D. 351 to A.D. 353. Style : D . N . DECENTIVS . NOB . CAES .]

Reverses.

Third Brass.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. SALVS . DD . NN . AVG . ET . CAES . ; the monogram of Christ between the letters alpha and omega - - - - - | 2 |
| 2. VICTORIAE . DD . NN . AVG . ET . CAES . ; two Victories holding a wreath, in which is VOT . V . MVLT . ; above, the monogram of Christ - | 2 |
| Total | 4 |

JULIANUS II.

[A.D. 355 to A.D. 363. Style: FL. CL. IVLIANVS. P. P. AVG.—DN.
FL. CL. IVLIANVS P. P. AVG.]

Reverses.

Silver.

- | | | |
|---|-------|---|
| 1. VOT. X. MVLT. XX. within a wreath ; in the exergue, P. LVG. | - | 1 |
| 2. VOT. X. MVLT. XX. within a wreath, in the upper part of which is an eagle in a circle ; in the exergue, CONST. | - - - | 2 |

Second Brass.

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1. SECVBITAS. REIPVB. ; a bull, with two stars ; in the exergue, ABISO. | | 1 |
|---|--|---|

Third Brass.

- | | | |
|--|-----------|---|
| 1. SPES. REIPVELICE (<i>sic</i>) ; the emperor, standing, holding a globe in his right hand, his left resting upon a spear with the barb downwards ; in the exergue, RSLC. | - - - - - | 1 |
| 2. VOT. X. MULT. XX. in a wreath | - - - - - | 2 |

Total 7

HELENA (wife of Julian).

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|-------|---|
| <i>Obv.</i> FL. IVL. HELENA. AVG. | <i>Rev.</i> PAX. PVBLICA ; Peace, standing, holding the hasta pura ; in the exergue, TRP. | - - - | 1 |
|-----------------------------------|---|-------|---|

JOVIANUS.

[A.D. 363 to A.D. 364. Style: D. N. IOVIANVS. P. P. AVG.]

Silver.

- | | | |
|---|-------|---|
| <i>Rev.</i> VOT. V. MVLT. X. in a wreath ; in the exergue, ANT. | - - - | 1 |
|---|-------|---|

VALENTINIANUS.

[A.D. 364 to A.D. 375. Style: D. N. VALENTINIANVS. P. P. AVG.]

Reverses.

Silver.

- | | | |
|---|-----------|---|
| 1. RESTITVTOR. REIP. ; the emperor, standing, holding a globe surmounted by a Victory and a labarum with the monogram of Christ ; in the exergue, P. LVG. | - - - - - | 1 |
|---|-----------|---|

Third Brass.

- | | | |
|--|-----------|---|
| 1. GLORIA. ROMANORVM ; the emperor, in a military habit, with his right hand upon the head of a captive on his knees with hands bound behind him ; in his left hand a labarum with the monogram of Christ ; in the field, OF. III ; in the exergue, LVGSP., or P. CON. | - - - - - | 8 |
| 2. REPARATIO. REIPVB. ; the emperor, holding in his left hand a globe surmounted by a Victory, extending his right hand to a kneeling female figure with turreted head ; in the field of the coin, s ; in the exergue, LVGP. | - - - - - | 1 |

| | |
|--|----|
| 3. SECVRITAS . REIPVBLICAE; Victory, with wreath and palm branch, marching to the left; in the field, OF . III., or RE . P.; in the exergue, P . CON., or PRIMA., or SMAQS , or TSISCZ. (fig. 11, pl. vi.) - | 10 |
| Total | 20 |

VALENS.

[A.D. 364 to A.D. 378. Style: D.N.VALENS.P.F.AVG.]

*Reverses.**Gold.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. RESTITVTOR . REIPVBLICAE; in the exergue, ANT . B.; the emperor, standing, holding in one hand a globe surmounted by a Victory; in the other the standard of the cross (<i>Mr. Reader</i>) - | 1 |
|---|---|

Silver.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. RESTITVTOR . REIP.; as the preceding; in the exergue, S.LVG. - | 1 |
| 2. VRBS . ROMA.; Rome, seated; in the exergue, TRPS. - | 2 |

Third Brass.

| | |
|---|----|
| 1. GLORIA . ROMANORVM; type as that of the same legend on the coins of Valentinian; in the exergue, LVGP., or P.CON., or BSISC; in the field of some, OF . II., or E. - | 5 |
| 2. SECVRITAS . REIPVBLICAE; type as on those of Valentinian; in the exergue, ASECYVDA., or LVGP., or P.CON., or SMAQ., or SMET., or BSISC.; in the field of some, OF . I. - | 20 |
| Total | 29 |

GRATIANUS.

[A.D. 375 to A.D. 383. Style: GRATIANVS.AVG.CAES.—D.N.GRATIANVS . P . F . AVG.—D . N . GRATIANVS . AVGG . AVG.]

*Reverses.**Silver.*

| | |
|--|---|
| 1. VRBS . ROMA.; Rome, seated; in the exergue, TRPS. - | 1 |
|--|---|

Second Brass.

| | |
|--|---|
| 1. REPARATIO . REIPVB.; in the exergue, S . CON.; the emperor, wearing the paludamentum, raising, with his right hand, a female figure wearing a turreted crown, and holding, in his left, a Victory upon a globe (fig. 12, pl. vi.) - | 3 |
|--|---|

Third Brass.

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. GLORIA . NOVI . SÆCVLI; Gratian, standing, laureated, and wearing the paludamentum; in his right hand a labarum, with the monogram of Christ; his left hand resting upon a shield; in the exergue, TCON.; in one instance, OF.III. in the field - | 8 |
| 2. GLORIA . ROMANORVM; in the exergue, CONST., or LVG.P., or ASISCA., or BSISCV., or TRP.; in the field, F . C., or OF . II., or QK., or SF. - | 16 |

Reverses.

| | |
|---|----|
| 3. SECVRITAS . REIPUBLICAE ; Victory, marching to the left with wreath and palm branch ; in the field, OF . I ., or OF . I . S ., or OF . BR ., or H . BR ., or V . A . ; in the exergue, P . CON ., or HSISC ., or SMVII . | 14 |
| 4. VIRTVS . ROMANORVM ; a female figure, galeated, sitting in a chair ; in her right hand a globe ; her left holding a spear ; in the exergue, P . CON . | 1 |
| 5. VOT . XV . MVLT . XX . in a wreath | 4 |
| Total | 47 |

THEODOSIUS.

[A.D. 379 to A.D. 395. Style: D . N . THEODOSIVS . P . F . AVG.]

Reverses.

Third Brass.

| | |
|---|----|
| 1. CONCORDIA . AVGGG . ; a female figure, turreted, sitting ; in her right hand a spear ; in her left a globe ; her right foot upon the prow of a vessel | 1 |
| 2. GLORIA . ROMANORVM ; the emperor, clad in the paludamentum, holding a globe, and a labarum with monogram of Christ | 1 |
| 3. SALVS . REIPVBLICAE ; Victory, marching to the left ; upon her shoulder a trophy ; her left hand upon the head of a captive ; in the field, the monogram of Christ | 3 |
| 4. VICTORIA . AVGGG . ; Victory, standing, with wreath and palm branch ; in the exergue, soon . | 3 |
| 5. Same legend ; two Victories, standing, face to face, holding wreaths | 2 |
| 6. VIRTVS . EXERCITVS ; a military figure, with his foot upon a captive ; in his right hand a labarum ; in his left a globe | 1 |
| 7. VOT . X . MVLT . XX . in a wreath | 2 |
| Total | 13 |

MAGNUS MAXIMUS.

[A.D. 383 to A.D. 388. Style: DN . MAG . MAXIMVS . P . F . AVG.]

Reverse.

Third Brass.

| | |
|--|---|
| 1. SPES . ROMANORVM ; the gate of a castrum surmounted by a star ; in the exergue, SMTR ., or CON ., or RS ., or RT . (fig. 14, pl. vi.) | 4 |
|--|---|

VICTOR (son of Maximus).

[A.D. 363 to A.D. 388. Style: D . N . FL . VICTOR . P . F . AVG.]

Third Brass.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Rev. SPES . ROMANORVM ; the gate of a castrum ; in the exergue, various letters, illegible | 3 |
|---|---|

EUGENIUS.

[A.D. 392 to A.D. 395. Style: D. N. EVGENIVS. P. F. AVG.]

Third Brass.

- Rev.* VICTORIA. AVGGG.; Victory, with wreath and palm branch, marching to the left. (*Unique, and unpublished*; fig. 15, pl. vi.) - 1

ARCADIUS.

[A.D. 383 to A.D. 408. Style: D. N. ARCADIVS. P. F. AVG.]

*Reverses.**Gold.*

1. VICTORIA. AVGGG.; in the field, M.D.; in the exergue, CONOB.; the emperor, in a military dress, standing; in his right hand he holds a labarum; in his left, a figure of Victory upon a globe; his left foot upon a prostrate figure - - - - 1

Silver Medallion.

1. VOT. X. MVLT. XX. within a wreath; in the exergue, MDPS. (*unpublished*; fig. 17, pl. vi.) - - - - 1

Second Brass.

1. VIRTVS. EXERCITVS; type, as that of the gold - - - - 1

Third Brass.

1. SALVS. REIPUBLICAE; Victory, with garland, dragging a captive; in the field, the monogram of Christ - - - - 2
 2. VICTORIA. AVGGG.; Victory, standing, with wreath and palm branch; in the exergue, TR., or LVG.P., or CON. - - - - 22

Total 27

HONORIUS.

[A.D. 393 to A.D. 423. Style: D. N. HONORIVS. P. F. AVG.]

*Reverses.**Gold.*

1. VICTORIA. AVGGG.; in the field, R.V.; in the exergue, COMOB.; the emperor, standing, holding a labarum, and globe surmounted by a Victory; his foot upon a captive (*Mr. Reader*) - - - 1

Silver.

1. VIRTVS. ROMANORVM; a female figure, helmeted, holding an image of Victory and a spear, seated on a coat of mail; in the exergue, TRPS. - - - - 1

Third Brass.

1. VICTORIA AVGGG.; Victory, standing, with wreath and palm branch; in the exergue, LVGP. - - - - 4

Total 6

CONSTANTINUS III.

[A.D. 407. Style: D. N. CONSTANTINVS. P. F. AVG.—FL. CL.
CONSTANTINVS. AVG.]

Silver.

Rev. VICTORIA.AAAA.VGGGG.; in the exergue, SMLD.; a helmed female, seated, holding a globe surmounted by a Victory and the hasta, (fig. 16, pl. vi) - - - - - 1

Minimi, or very small coins in brass, which, from their barbarous execution, or imperfect design, can only be considered as imitations, of a late date, of the commoner kinds of third brass coins. Examples of these are shown in figs. 19, 20, and 21, pl. vi - 200

SUMMARY OF COINS FOUND AT RICHBOROUGH.

| | | | |
|------------------------------|----|----------------------------|----|
| British - - - - | 1 | Commodus - - - - | 2 |
| Consular - - - - | 3 | Severus - - - - | 5 |
| Augustus - - - - | 7 | Julia Domna - - - - | 3 |
| Agrippa - - - - | 1 | Caracalla - - - - | 3 |
| Tiberius - - - - | 2 | Julia Mæsa - - - - | 1 |
| Caligula - - - - | 2 | Severus Alexander - - - - | 7 |
| Claudius - - - - | 13 | Gordianus Pius - - - - | 6 |
| Nero - - - - | 11 | Philip - - - - | 4 |
| Vespasian - - - - | 12 | Valerianus - - - - | 2 |
| Titus - - - - | 1 | Valerianus, Junior - - - - | 1 |
| Domitian - - - - | 8 | Gallienus - - - - | 19 |
| Nerva - - - - | 1 | Salonina - - - - | 4 |
| Trajan - - - - | 7 | Postumus - - - - | 10 |
| Hadrian - - - - | 4 | Victorinus - - - - | 14 |
| Sabina - - - - | 1 | Marius - - - - | 1 |
| Ælius - - - - | 2 | Tetricus - - - - | 12 |
| Antoninus Pius - - - - | 5 | Claudius Gothicus - - - - | 14 |
| Faustina the Elder - - - - | 3 | Quintillus - - - - | 2 |
| Marcus Aurelius - - - - | 4 | Aurelianus - - - - | 4 |
| Faustina the Younger - - - - | 5 | Tacitus - - - - | 5 |
| Lucius Verus - - - - | 2 | Florianus - - - - | 1 |
| Lucilla - - - - | 1 | Probus - - - - | 7 |

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Carinus - - - - 1 | Constantius II - - - 42 |
| Numerianus - - - - 2 | Urbs Roma - - - - 52 |
| Diocletianus - - - - 8 | Constantinopolis - - - 60 |
| Maximianus - - - - 15 | Magnentius - - - - 20 |
| Carausius - - - - 91 | Decentius - - - - 4 |
| Allectus - - - - 43 | Julianus II - - - - 7 |
| Constantius I - - - - 4 | Helena - - - - 1 |
| Helena - - - - 8 | Jovianus - - - - 1 |
| Theodora - - - - 13 | Valentinianus - - - 20 |
| Gal. Maximianus - - - 1 | Valens - - - - 29 |
| Maxentius - - - - 2 | Gratianus - - - - 47 |
| Romulus - - - - 1 | Theodosius - - - - 13 |
| Licinius - - - - 12 | Magnus Maximus - - - 4 |
| Licinius, Junior - - - 1 | Victor - - - - 3 |
| Constantine the Great - 120 | Eugenius - - - - 1 |
| Fausta - - - - 2 | Arcadius - - - - 27 |
| Crispus - - - - 18 | Honorius - - - - 6 |
| Delmatius - - - - 1 | Constantine III - - - 1 |
| Constantine II - - - 98 | Minimi - - - - 200 |
| Constans - - - - 77 | Total 1279 |

As before observed, the above list is, with a few exceptions, compiled from coins in the possession of Mr. Rolfe. Mr. Reader also possesses about six hundred; of which, the best preserved, or most remarkable, are here inserted, the others being chiefly of the class termed "*Minimi*". Mr. Reader calculates that, in past years, he has given away, at least, as many as he now possesses.

The class of monuments described in the preceding pages, cannot but be regarded with a high degree of interest. They extend over a period of upwards of four hundred years,—from the first arrival of the Romans in Britain, to their final departure. The coins of most of the earlier emperors are comparatively scarce; but toward the latter end of the third century, when Carausius wrested the province from Diocletian and Maximian, they suddenly increase in number; and those of the ten years during which the island

maintained its independence, far exceed those of any other reign, although the coins of many of the subsequent emperors are very numerous. This may probably be ascribed to a local cause. Carausius, it is well known, commanded the Roman fleet which was stationed in the channel to guard the coasts of Britain and Gaul from the incursions of the Franks and Saxons, who had already begun to be troublesome. Carausius subdued the pirates, but was himself subsequently accused of allowing them to carry off booty, which he intercepted before they reached their own harbours, and appropriated to his own use, instead of sending it to the treasury at Rome. Maximian having given orders for the degradation of his accused admiral, the latter, anticipating the worst, sailed with the fleet to Britain, of which, by the aid of the legions there stationed, and one or more quartered in Gaul, he obtained complete possession. There can be little doubt that the Rutupine coast was the scene of many important events, which, unrecorded by the pen of history, must be presumed to have occurred during the dismemberment of the province from the Roman empire. The fleet which aided Carausius in his successful adventure, probably had its chief quarters at Rutupinæ,—a station, above all others, important for communicating with Gaul and Germany. The unusual number of coins of this emperor, and of his successor, Allectus, which appear in our Richborough list, shew certainly that the place was well occupied during their reigns. The denarii of Carausius, marked RSR., as has been before observed, were probably struck at Rutupinæ; there seems to be no other feasible interpretation of these letters; and this mode of explaining them is perfectly consistent with numismatic formulæ, as well as with local circumstances. The gold and silver coins of

Carausius bear, usually, in the exergue, the letters ML., or RSR., denoting, as is suggested, Londinium and Rutupinæ as the places of minting, and where, probably, Carausius himself mostly resided. The number of coins of Carausius and Allectus, found at Richborough, is the more striking, when it is considered that they are by no means generally common, and that the silver are of the highest rarity. On the contrary, coins of the Constantine family are found everywhere in profusion; but numerous as they occur at Richborough, they bear a very inferior proportion to those of the two Romano-British emperors, when the length of reigns is compared.

Our coins preserve an almost uninterrupted and a faithful index of the Roman domination in Britain; and do not, perhaps, wholly cease to throw a light on the state of the liberated province when left to its own resources for government. Constantine III (of whom a single denarius concludes the Richborough list) was, we are told by Zosimus, the last of three who were raised to the rank of *Augustus* by the soldiers of Honorius in Britain; that is to say, by the legionaries and the auxiliary troops, enumerated in the *Notitia* as quartered in the fortresses on the Saxon shore and on the line of the northern wall. Of Marcus and Gratian, the first and second of these usurpers, little is known beyond their names; and neither coins nor inscriptions have been discovered, to confirm or illustrate the brief historical notice which records their equally sudden rise and downfall. Constantine III was more fortunate, and better fitted to maintain the dignity of the post to which he had been unexpectedly raised. For four years Britain, Gaul, and Spain, submitted to his rule; and, although these provinces were once more regained by the imperial arms, their allegiance to Hono-

rius was but little more than nominal ; for at this time Italy was invaded by Alaric, and Spain and Gaul were soon afterwards conquered and occupied by the Vandals, the Goths, and the Franks. Britain, at this calamitous epoch, would appear to have endured a transient respite, from the period of the final withdrawal of the Roman garrisons to the coming of the Saxons ; but history is entirely silent as to the actual state of the country, or is so mixed with fabulous and contradictory stories, as to be, at the best, but an uncertain guide. It is unknown whether the descendants of the former British princes were acknowledged as rulers ; or whether the great towns, whose population must have been composed, to a considerable extent, of Romans and Romano-Britains, supported themselves in separate independencies by the strength of their own laws and institutions. Such may probably have been the case, but the direct and positive evidence is wanting. The testimony of coins, which heretofore served as a commentary on the narrative of the historian, ceases with the text it illustrated ; and nothing can be more significant of the state of Britain after the days of Honorius, than the absence of intelligible coins. But these guides, even at a time when history fails, and all is obscure and doubtful, do not desert us : those which were previously so unerring and lucid, are followed by others, like the times in which they were struck, barbarous and rude. They are the pieces called *minimi* ;¹ so named on account of their small size, all of them being

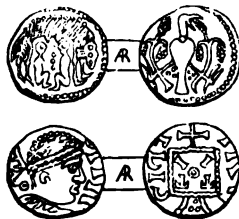
¹ Since the foregoing catalogue was compiled, Mr. Rolfe has forwarded seventy-four coins, which had been found at some particular period in past ages, and, by accident had been overlooked. They are as follow : Antonia, 1 ; Claudius, 2 ; Vespasian, 1 ; Domitian, 2 ; Hadrian, 1 ; Valerian, 1 ; Tetricus, 1 ; Claudius Gothicus, 1 ; Maximian, 1 ; Carausius, 3 ; Allectus, 2 ; Constantine family, 29 ;

under the usual dimensions of the third brass, and many exceedingly minute. They are Roman in character, and have obviously been copied from the most common types of the third brass; but their wretched execution and design forbid the possibility of appropriating them to any chiefs or princes, or of supposing that the artists who fabricated them had intended they should convey any historical meaning. An immense number of them also shew that the pellets of metal used, were not large enough to cover the flans of the dies,—consequently, only portions of the entire design usually appear. These numerous little coins may possibly be ascribed to unknown princes or rulers of Britain, after the departure of the Romans, and before the establishment of the Saxons; while their barbaric execution negatives the notion that, in this interval, any one of the supposed potentates could have gained permanent power; for the history of civilization scarcely furnishes an instance of the assumption of regal authority, without its manifestation in the coinage.

The next great historical epoch of Britain, the exact commencement of which is of disputed date, is indicated by a very different series of coins,—partly modelled on the Roman system, but possessing striking peculiarities, which even a superficial observer

Magnentius, 1; Valentinian, 2; Valens, 10; Gratian, 2; Theodorus, 1; Magnus Maximus, 2; Honorius, 2; Minimi, 10.—74. It will suffice to observe, that the whole of these are in brass, and chiefly of the third size; two only require special notice. The first of these is a third brass of Hadrian: *Rev.* P.M.TB.P.OOS.; a prow of a galley; s.c. The second, a third brass of Magnus Maximus, which appears to be unedited: *Rev.* VICTORIA.AVGG.; Maximus standing; in his left hand a globe, surmounted by a Victory extending a wreath towards his head; his right hand is joined to that of a male figure wearing a radiated crown, kneeling; in the exergue, LVG.S.

will not hesitate to recognize. The Roman *minimi* are all in brass; the earliest Saxon coins, called *sceattas*, are all in silver. The annexed cut represents two which have been found at Richborough. The upper bears, on one side, a copy of the very common reverse of the third brass coins described in the preceding list under the head of *Urbs Roma*—that of Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf; and on the reverse, a bird, holding in its claws branches of fruit,—a device also probably adopted from some Roman design. The other exhibits a crowned head, with letters which cannot be combined to admit of meaning; and on the reverse is a square, surmounted by a cross, and enclosing letters. This design may have been suggested by the altar on the coins of the Constantine family, inscribed *vor.*, etc.; the letters, though well formed, seem equally the result of caprice or fancy.¹



The other Saxon coins found at Richborough, are as follows :

OFFA.

King of Mercia, A.D. 757 to A.D. 796.

Obv. †OFFA . REX . M, in three lines. *Rev.* KUBA. in two lines, with an ornamental division.²

AETHILHEARD.

Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 790 to A.D. 803.

Obv. †AETHILHEARD . ARCEP. in three lines. *Rev.* †OFFA . REX. in two lines.

BERHTULF.

King of Mercia, A.D. 839 to A.D. 852.

Obv. †BERHTULF . REX.; a rudely formed head with a diadem. *Rev.* †EANA . mo.; in the centre, the letter A and a cross.³

¹ Other *sceattas* will be found in the plate of Reculver antiquities.

² Fig. 8, pl. xxiii, vol. 1, *Collectanea Antiqua*.

³ Ibid. fig. 10, pl. xxiii.

ETHELRED II.

A.D. 978 to A.D. 1016.

A clipped coin of the type engraved in Hawkins' *Silver Coins of England*, fig. 206, pl. xvi.

The above are pennies (silver); the two following are small brass coins known by the term *stycas*.

ETHELRED.

King of Northumberland, A.D. 840 to A.D. 848.

1. *Obv.* †ETHELRED.REX; in the centre, a cross. *Rev.* †EANRED; five pellets.
2. *Obv.* The same. *Rev.* FORDRED.

These coins are of some importance in regard to the question of the fate of Richborough during the Saxon period, furnishing presumptive evidence that some of the Roman buildings there were held in occupation as dwellings, probably for some centuries. The contiguity of Kent to Gaul, so favourable to constant intercourse, is distinctly referred to by Julius Cæsar, as the cause of the superior civilization of its inhabitants to the rest of Britain: they more resembled the Gauls. During the four hundred years that Britain was held by the Romans, we witness the introduction of people of nations a little further remote, who were gradually occupying more prominent places in the history of our country. From early times, they are mentioned as supplying auxiliaries to the Roman legions serving in this island; and, throughout the four centuries of dependence, the provincial army appears to have been largely composed of these German allies, and a constant communication was going on between the two provinces. Towards the decline of the Roman empire, the Franks and Saxons, near neighbours to those German states in alliance with the Romans, made constant predatory incursions on the eastern and southern parts of the province; and it was chiefly by their aid that Carausius, himself a Batavian, effected the temporary separation of the province

from the empire. The Rutupine coast presented the most eligible points of descent ; and when in the fifth century, history resumes the broken record, it is here the Saxons come again upon the stage as invited friends, and here it is they receive lands. Their possession of Thanet and the eastern part of Kent, appears never to have been much contested by the Britons ; and the Saxons seem to have rapidly established a permanent kingdom, the religion of which was exclusively pagan, for upwards of a century, while the conquest of the other parts of Britain was being effected by separate and distinct German tribes. Canterbury, as before, remained the capital of Kent ; Rochester was, soon after the conversion of Ethelbert, made a bishop's see ; and, as the Roman fortress of Reculver became the site of an important ecclesiastical establishment, it is not likely the Roman buildings there were destroyed ; and, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it seems only reasonable to believe that the Roman fortifications at Richborough were quietly ceded, together with the surrounding country, to the first Saxon settlers, and that their possession was never seriously disturbed. Considerable information has of late years been obtained on the state of Kent during the first ages of its occupation by the Saxons, from discoveries made in the burial-places scattered over the county, and particularly in the eastern districts. They are all pagan in character ; and the objects found in them are not only frequently of Roman origin, but they shew, in many instances, that Roman habits and customs had been adopted and associated with those of the new inhabitants, to an extent which must considerably modify our assent to the popular belief that the Saxon invasion either exterminated the Roman monuments, or the influence of Roman civilization.

Tradition has assigned Richborough as the place where Augustine landed, A.D. 597. Bede merely states that he disembarked in the isle of Thanet, but enters into some curious details concerning his reception by Ethelbert, king of Kent, who, he states, having supplied Augustine and his followers with all necessaries, ordered them to remain where they landed, and, after a few days, came in person and received them in the open air, believing, in accordance with the superstitions of his countrymen, that within a house, they might circumvent and impose on him by means of magic. Thorne, a monk of Canterbury, states, that the place of Augustine's landing was Richborough; and he gravely tells us, that the missionary, on leaving the ship, trod upon a stone, which retained the print of his foot as though it had been clay: this stone, he adds, was there preserved in a chapel dedicated to the said saint; and yearly, on the anniversary of its deposit, crowds of people flocked thither to pray and to recover health.¹ This statement by Thorne, who lived in the fourteenth century, though of no historical worth, is of value in reference to the antiquity of

¹ Igitur Gregorius quinto ordinationis suæ anno, scilicet anno quingentesimo xcvj, assumpsit beatum Augustinum monasterii sui quod ipse infra urbem construxerat tunc præpositum, ut quondam Petrus Barnabam vel Paulum, in opus dominicum; et misit cum eo alios quamplures monachos ac verbi Dei ministros quasi numero xl. genti Anglorum fidem prædicare catholicam. Appliquerunt vero in insula *Thanet* in loco qui dicitur *Richborough*, ubi patre Augustino de navi descendente, supra quandam petram a casu stetit, et pedem ejus eidem quasi luto impressit. Cuius rei gratia idem lapis assumitur et intra capellam de eodem Sancto ibidem fundatam honorifice collocatur, sed et singulis annis die suæ depositionis ob devotionem et spem recuperandæ sanitatis sit concursus populorum dicentium, "Adorabimus in loco ubi steterunt pedes ejus."—*Chronica Guill. Thorne*, in Roger Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*; Lond. 1652; coll. 1758-9.

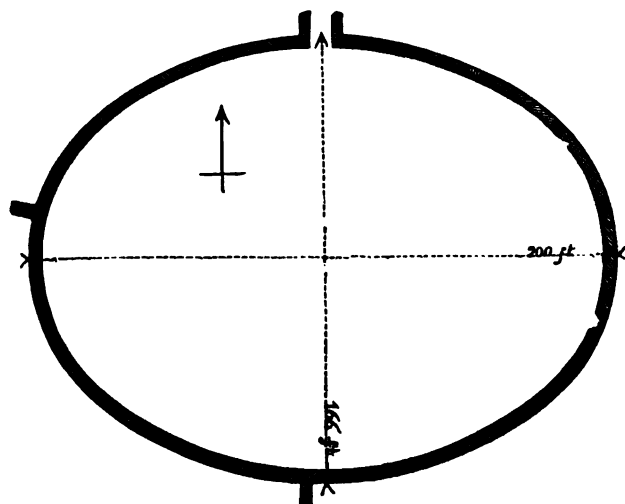
the chapel mentioned by Leland ; while the general popular belief in the sanctity of the place, and its associations,—the periodical visits paid by the sick, and by the devotional, to the chapel of Augustine and to the holy stone,—if they are not received as proofs of his landing at Richborough, may at all events be admitted as a tradition, founded on a general knowledge that the Rutupine coast, and particularly Richborough itself, were, in the sixth century, and later still, the principal points of debarkation from Gaul.

THE AMPHITHEATRE.

In page 52 a plan has been given of what was supposed to have been an amphitheatre ; and it is there remarked that, from the stunted growth of the corn, foundations of buildings were conjectured to exist beneath the ground. During the autumn of the past year (1849), while on a visit, with Mr. Fairholt, to Mr. Rolfe, it was resolved to test the cause of the appearances previously noted ; and the consent of Mr. Solly, the tenant of the property, being readily granted, excavations were determined on.

At this season, the field, prepared for winter fallow, presented no indications whatever of subterranean architectural remains, nor did any difference of colour in the soil lead to the supposition that there might be vestiges of a building buried beneath the surface. However, a small fragment of Roman mortar was at length detected on the surface, and the labourers being directed to dig beneath the spot, came to a wall at the depth of about one foot, which subsequent excavations demonstrated to be the core of the

external wall of an amphitheatre, forming an ellipse, of which the longer diameter measures 200 feet, and the shorter, 166 feet, from



Roman Amphitheatre at Richborough, discovered October 10, 1849.

outside to outside, as shown by the plan,¹ forwarded by Mr. Rolfe, together with the following report :

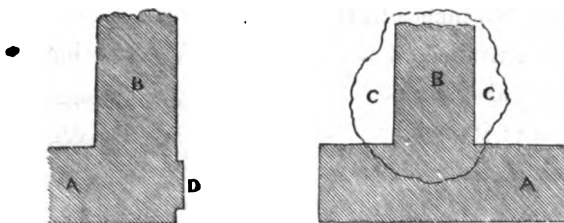
“The circumference of the wall measures, on the outside, 556 feet ; it is generally three feet six inches in width, and built with flint faced with chalk quarried from the north side of Pegwell Bay. The foundation is deeper by from two to three feet on the inside than on the outside, and at the bottom a course of large flints lay on a bed of chalk, as is observed beneath the walls of the castle. Tiles, seldom found whole, measuring ten inches square, are built in double rows at the angles formed by the entrances, and here and there tabular grey sandstone is substituted for tiles.

¹ The plan and measurements were made by Mr. Coleman, a neighbouring land-surveyor.

These were found about four feet from the bottom. The interior of the wall is coated with coarse mortar, at some places two inches in thickness; and where the interior of the wall was laid bare, a pavement of mortar two inches thick, extending towards the centre of the area about fifteen feet, was brought to view; also an inclined plane, formed of the same material mixed with clay, reaching eight feet from the base of the wall, from which it rose to the top, about seven feet in height. No remains or indications of seats having existed, were anywhere discovered. In the centre of the area, the native soil is reached at the depth of only three feet eight inches; at the ends of the largest diameter, seven feet.

“There are three entrances, from the north, south, and west. At the north there are two side walls remaining, nine feet apart, the intermediate space having been covered with a hard pavement

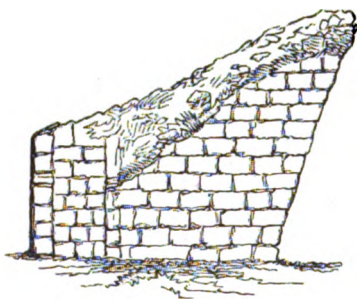
North entrance.



AA, the boundary or main wall; BB, the entrance walls; CC, a portion of the pavement covering the two walls and intermediate space.

of flint and rubble, forming a passage, on an inclined plane, into the interior, with that described above. These walls, standing at right angles with the main one, are nine feet in length from the inner corner of the main wall to the outer end, and three and a half in width. The one on the west side of this entrance (the most perfect) indicates an arch having surmounted it, formed by the

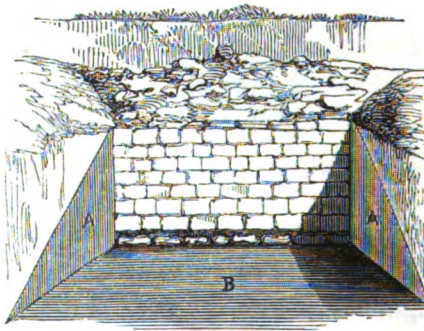
concrete floor of the passage ; its outer end projects at the top about two feet beyond the base, giving the masonry a cuneiform appearance. Near the inner angle of the wall, on the west side, are two gate-stops, two feet apart, opposite to which the main wall projects three feet, leaving a space of six feet for the gate.



Interior of the wall at the northern side of the north entrance.

“The entrance from the south has but one wall remaining, seven feet long, and where it unites with the main wall, two feet in width ; at the outer end, only one foot four inches, where there is a gate-stop. In the interior, opposite to this entrance, a large heap of flint stone was found lying against the wall, which was faced with coarse mortar two inches in thickness.

“The west entrance, at the opposite end of the long diameter of the oval, has also but one wall remaining ; its height, at the outer end, is five feet eight inches, and its length, six feet and a half. It is built, on an inclined plane, down to the main wall, which is *five* feet from the entrance wall towards the south, where it terminates ; and no masonry is found, but a hard floor of pebble and clay, which is seven feet below the



AA an inclined plane of mortar, measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet at its base ; B, a pavement of hard mortar, or cement, 2 inches thick, extending inwards 15 feet.

surface of the soil, and extends to the opposite end of the main wall. This floor occupies a space of fifteen feet. The wall gradually increases in height from this point, till it reaches the upper surface within a foot. On the ruined wall of the western entrance, a skeleton was found, lying on its left side, the legs drawn up, and the wrists crossing each other. The place had evidently been hollowed out for its reception: most of the bones of the hands and feet were wanting; but where the right hand had been, a brass coin of Constans was found.

“The coins found among the ruins, are confined to the period extending from the time of Gallienus to that of Arcadius, with the exception of one of earlier date,—a denarius of Domitian. Many bones of a small sort of ox were found in the foundations, also iron nails, and two fragments of glass vessels, one bearing the pillar pattern.

“The centre of the amphitheatre, I may observe, bears south, 16° west from the south-west angle of the castle, at the distance of about four hundred and sixty yards. No spot in the neighbourhood, better adapted for the purpose, could have been selected. The proximity of a mount commanding a delightful view in every direction, including the sister fortress, Regulbium, the whole of the south side of the isle of Thanet, the ocean, and even the white cliffs of Gaul between Calais and Boulogne, together with the estuary extending several miles in the direction of Durovernum,—naturally led to its being selected.”

The coins discovered during the excavations, are as follows: Domitian, 1; Gallienus, 2; Salonina, 2; Tetricus, 3; Claudius Gothicus, 1; Tacitus, 1; Carausius, 7; Allectus, 3; Constantine, 1; Constantine Junior, 4; Urbs Roma, 1; Constans, 2; Valens,

1; Magnus Maximus, 1; Arcadius, 3; Minimi and illegible, 10,—amounting to forty-three in number. It may be inferred from them, that the building, whatever may have been the period of its erection, was used to the latest days of Roman ascendancy. The interment of the body, with which was deposited a coin of Constantine, must be referred to some subsequent time before the old custom of burying coins with the dead was entirely superseded. The building had probably been partially levelled, and the remaining portions of the walls covered over either intentionally, or by those natural causes which combine, in certain situations, to accumulate the earth upon the deserted sites of buildings; and the place, from its desolateness, may have suggested the notion of security to those who deposited the body. To a similar feeling may be ascribed the interment of bodies within the walls of ruined Roman villas, and similar places, where skeletons are occasionally discovered, as within the foundations of the building adjoining the villa at Ickleton, where the skeletons of several children were exhumed.

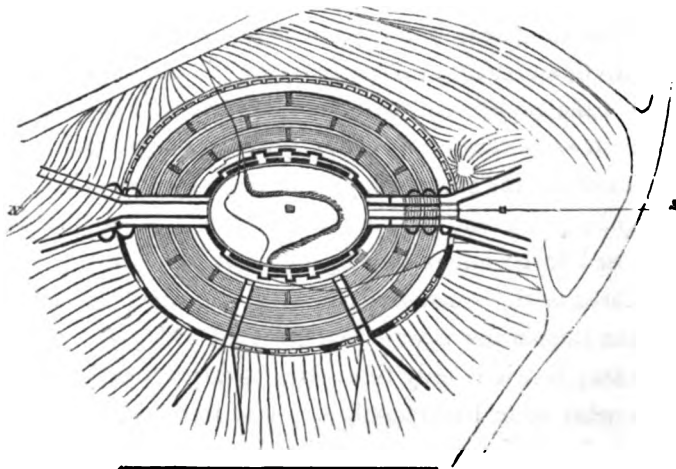
The absence of any vestiges of seats, and of other arrangements, in the interior of the Richborough amphitheatre, is partly to be accounted for in the fact, that at some very remote period, the materials had been pulled down and carried away; the facing stones had also been removed, and, indeed, most of the materials which could have been considered as valuable for building purposes. The adjacent town of Sandwich, which rapidly rose into importance under the Saxons, seems to suggest the destination of the abstracted remains; it is, moreover, not improbable that some of the fittings-up might have been of wood. This is the first walled amphitheatre that has been brought to light in England; and the

researches which, under the personal guidance of Mr. Rolfe, have so successfully terminated, will, it is trusted, create a desire in individuals who may command the means, to institute an examination of analogous works in other parts of the country, with a view to decide their mode of construction. The amphitheatres at Silchester and at Dorchester are of much greater extent, and apparently have never been subjected to the process of excavation, so that it is impossible to say that considerable architectural remains may not be concealed beneath the ground. The area of the former is stated to measure fifty yards by forty; that of the latter, seventy-three yards by forty-six. There is another at Caerleon, popularly called *Arthur's Round Table*, a somewhat shallow, oval cavity, the measurement of which Donovan¹ gives as two hundred and twenty feet by one hundred and ninety; the depth, sixteen feet. This would appear to indicate the site of one of the theatres alluded to by Giraldus Cambrensis, as in part standing in his time,—towards the close of the twelfth century: "*et loca theatralia muris egregiis partim adhuc extantibus, omnia clausa*"; and although not a trace of walls is visible at the present day, it is not unlikely their foundations may be yet preserved beneath many feet of earth. There are supposed to be others in England, but they are not so well authenticated as those mentioned above. It is most probable that most of the Roman towns were well provided with places of public amusements; but it is only those who have practically sought to ascertain what time has spared, to whom the existence of such architectural remains as are occasionally to be found, is not a matter of astonishment. At Old Verulam, the walls of a large theatre for dramatic representations, of the dimensions of that of

¹ Excursions through South Wales, vol. i, p. 113.

Drury Lane, were a short time since partially laid open in an arable field, which, time out of mind, had borne its annual crop; and there, many feet above the vast and deep area in which thousands of human beings, through several generations, had periodically assembled, the unsuspecting countryman, for centuries, had yearly toiled at seed-time and at harvest, little dreaming that beneath his feet lay so striking an exemplification of the great truth, that the life of the present is the death of the past. It is curious to contemplate how effectually, in the unmolested course of ages, nature continues to entomb the deserted and ruined works of art.

In this country, as before observed, none of the Roman amphitheatres, with the exception of our Richborough specimen, have been examined. The Prussian government, more sensible than



Amphitheatre at Treves.

our own of the value of ancient national monuments, has, within the last few years, excavated the amphitheatre at Treves, which,

although of much greater magnitude and importance, presents several points of comparison. The principle of construction of these buildings was the same in all grades; and we may place at the one end of the scale the amphitheatre at Richborough, and at the other, the stupendous Coliseum of Rome; the traditional prophecy attached to which, is, that it will stand as long as Rome stands, and that Rome will endure so long as the world shall last. Midway between these may be placed the amphitheatre of Treves, the capital of Belgic Gaul; some particulars of which may not be unacceptable on the present occasion.¹

Wytttenbach gives the dimensions of the arena of this amphitheatre, as 219½ feet long, and 155 feet wide. It has two principal entrances, one to the north, the other to the south. The passage of the former is 198 feet, the breadth, 18 feet; the size of the latter cannot be so accurately determined: for 114 feet its sides are parallel, of the uniform width of about 17 feet; they then widen onward for about 90 feet. These entrances have been flanked with semicircular towers, and the passages were vaulted with massive blocks of freestone. Considerable portions of the interior architecture are also preserved, together with lateral entrances for the conductors of the spectacle, the animals, and combatants; but only a very few of the seats for the spectators have been discovered. The arena is paved with slate, and provided with a shallow trench cut in the stone, forming a watercouse, which runs beneath the southern entrance and the adjoining high-road, and flows into a valley from beneath an arch in the highest state of preservation.

¹ The expenses attending the excavation of the amphitheatre at Richborough, were kindly defrayed by Mr. Rolfe, Mr. Hudson Gurney, Lord Mahon, Lord Albert Denison, and Mr. Joseph Mayer.

Among the monuments found in excavating the interior of the amphitheatre, were dedicatory inscriptions to the genius of the Arenarii of Treves, and to Jupiter and Juno, for the health of the emperor Trajan, erected by a centurion of the sixth legion.

The passion of the Romans for the sports and amusements of the amphitheatre, led them to sanction even the sacrifice of human life in the most wanton and cold-blooded manner; and history has recorded the arena of Treves as the scene of some of the most barbarous cruelties of Constantine, who there caused two captive Frankish princes to be torn to pieces by wild beasts; and, on another occasion, devoted so large a number of prisoners to a similar fate, that, the historian states, the very beasts became exhausted and tired.¹ But retributive justice brought a fearful day of reckoning; and the condition of Treves in the fifth century (in the space of forty years four times besieged and pillaged), as described by Salvianus, is rendered more appalling by the mixture of misery and debasing pleasure.

“And is it true then, ye men of Treves,” exclaims Salvianus,² “that you are longing for the games of the circus? All ruined and desolate as is your condition,—your houses plundered, the blood of your citizens flowing in the streets, the scaffolds standing before you stained with their gore,—is it possible that such should be your wish? I had considered your long series of disasters a sufficient calamity; but it is a far more heavy one, that you can have a thought of the kind. Moral degradation is degradation

¹ Puberes, qui in manus venerunt, quorum nec perfidia erat apta militiæ, nec ferocia servituti, ad pœnas spectaculo dati, sævientes bestias multitudine sua fatigarunt.—*Eumenii Paneg. Constantino Aug. cap. xii.*

² De Gubernat. Dei, l. vi.

indeed ! Deprived of right feeling and of reason, man is no better than the brutes that perish. Your petition to your princes, forsooth, is for a theatre and a circus ; but, while you proffer such petitions, cast your eyes, I implore you, upon the condition of your townsmen and your city. Treves herself is a prey to the flames : whatever they possessed, is lost to her inhabitants. So sad is their condition, that it were difficult to pronounce whether the lot of the departed, or that of the survivors, is most to be pitied. Death, under such circumstances, ceases to be an evil : it is but a termination of misery. And can you ask for games ? Where is it you would have them exhibited ? On graves, and among ashes ; in the midst of blood and mangled corpses ? Everywhere desolation lords it without control ; every street presents the aspect of a city taken by storm ; every house is saddened with the graves of captives, every face with the image of death. Thrice has the hand of the avenger been raised, and failed of producing amendment ; you invite it to descend yet a fourth time on your heads, and overwhelm you with irretrievable calamity.”¹

The prediction of Salvianus was verified in his own lifetime, and

¹ From Mr. Dawson Turner's *Stranger's Guide to the Roman Antiquities of the City of Treves*, from the German of Wyttenbach ; 8vo. London, 1839. To Mr. H. G. Bohn, of York-street, we are indebted for the loan of the cut on page 168, and for the vignette below, which form two of the illustrations of this excellent guide.

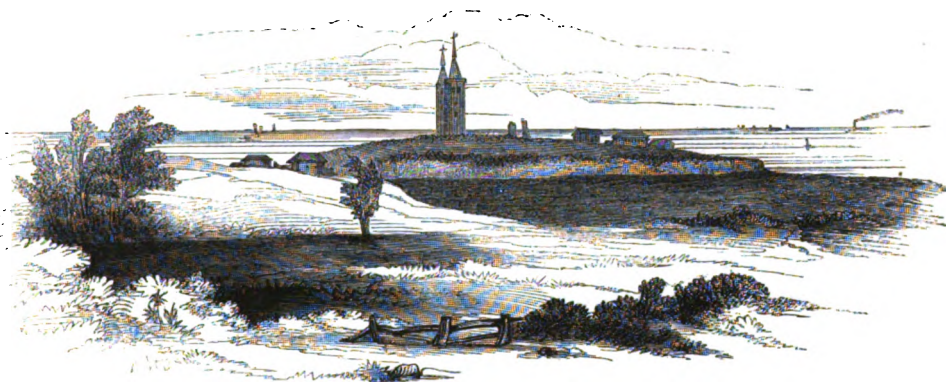


South entrance to the amphitheatre at Treves restored.

the fourth visitation of the conquering Franks sealed alike the fate of Roman Treves, her circus, and her amphitheatre.

Of all the vestiges of ancient amphitheatres which are yet standing, or of which plans and views have been preserved, those of Tintiniac, figured in Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*, tom. iii, p. 2, more closely resemble the remains of that of Richborough. The engraving in Montfaucon shews an elliptical wall, with a single entrance, the measurements of the area being 200 feet by 150. The ruins are called *les Arènes de Tintiniac*.

RECU LVER.



Reculver, from Brooke Hill.

RE C U L V E R.

REGULBIUM, the name by which the Roman station on the north-western coast of Kent was designated, is not mentioned by Ptolemy or by the geographer of Ravenna ; neither is it to be found in the Itinerary of Antoninus, or in the Pëutingerian Table. It occurs only in those portions of the itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, and of the *Notitia*, which have been extracted for the foregoing part of our volume. In consequence, it has been inferred that, at the periods when the former works were compiled, Regulbium did not exist, and that this castrum was therefore constructed towards the decline of the Roman power in Britain.

The absence, however, of this station in the undisputedly authen-

tic itineraries, will throw no light on its date. These maps, or lists of places, arranged for specific public purposes, were never intended to include all towns and stations. The geographical position of Regulbium in relation to Rutupiae, would of itself shew why it may have been omitted in certain routes arranged for the more expeditious conveyance of dispatches, the transmission of troops, or for other purposes. It is considerably out of the direct line of road to Canterbury and London; and must, in the time of the Romans, have been, at certain seasons, somewhat difficult of access. A little careful examination of the ancient itineraries will shew how the marches and journeys were arranged from point to point, avoiding digressions and lateral and winding directions, such as the road from Rutupiae to Durovernum and Londinium *via* Regulbium, would have been.

St. Ambrose, who lived in the time of Theodosius and Gratian, has a passage in his writings which may be here not inaptly quoted: "A soldier who sets out on his march, does not arrange for himself the order of his route, nor take short ways, as more agreeable to himself, lest he desert the standards; but he receives an itinerary from his general, and attends to that: he marches in the order which is directed, walks with his arms, and, keeping in the right way, properly continues his journey, that at the end thereof he may find all necessities ready prepared for him. If he takes another road, he does not get his allowance of provisions, he finds no resting-place;¹ for the general orders all these things for those who follow his orders, and turn neither to the right nor left

¹ They were termed *mansiones*, and in the itinerary from Bourdeaux to Jerusalem are mentioned in order, with the *mutationes*, where relays of horses were kept.

from the prescribed way. Nor does he fail in his duty who follows his general; for he walks moderately, because the general does not consider his own pleasure, but what can be performed by all; and for that reason he appoints stated quarters; the army marches three days, and rests on the fourth; cities are selected that abound in water and provisions, in which they may rest three or four days, or longer if necessary; and thus the journey is completed without fatigue."¹

This passage, which is so illustrative of the *itineraria*, and of the daily marches and regulations of the troops, while it is here adduced to shew why Regulbium may not have been included in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and in the Peutingerian Table, may be, at the same time, considered as rather weighing against the authenticity of the work of Richard of Cirencester, by those who believe it to be altogether apocryphal, and a modern compilation; and by such it would be suggested, that the fabricator had found Regulbium in the *Notitia*, and had thrown this station into the fifteenth iter of Richard, to make it more comprehensive and

¹ Miles, qui ingreditur iter, viandi ordinem non ipse disponet sibi, nec pro suo arbitrio viam carpit, nec voluptuaria captat compendia, ne recedat a signis; sed itinerarium ab imperatore accipit, et custodit illud; præscripto incedit ordine, cum armis suis ambulat, rectaque via conficit iter, ut inveniat commeatuum sibi parata subsidia. Si alio ambulaverit itinere, annonam non accipit, mansionem paratam non invenit; quia imperator his jubet hæc præparari omnia qui sequuntur, nec dextera, nec sinistra a præscripto itinere declinant. Meritoque non deficit, qui imperatorem sequitur suum; moderate enim ambulat, quia imperator non quod sibi utile, sed quod omnibus possibile considerat; ideo et stativas ordinat; triduo ambulat exercitus, quarto requiescit die. Eliguntur civitates in quibus triduum, quadriduum, et plures interponantur dies, si aquis abundant, commerciis frequentantur: et ita sine labore conficitur iter.—*Serm.* v, in Psalm. cxviii.

plausible. But it may be urged, on the other hand, that, if a forger had extracted, for this purpose, one station from the *Notitia*, it is not likely he would have passed by Othona, Gariannonum, and Branodunum, which occur with Regulbium in the list of *castra* on the Saxon shore, but would have inserted one or more of them in some other iter; yet these three places are not mentioned by Richard. Without digressing to discuss the question of the authenticity of this work, it may be remarked, that the apparent discrepancy between it and other compositions of similar character, may be explained by the difference in the plan on which they are constructed; and this is particularly apparent in the arrangement of the iter in which Regulbium is inserted, which, it will be perceived (see page 17), takes in all the stations from Londinium to Clausentum (Bittern, near Southampton), and all those on the coast, from Portus Magnus (Portchester) to Regulbium, and from thence on to Londinium, whence it commenced. The object of it seems to have been, to comprise, for general purposes, a list of all the chief stations in this long and circuitous route.

In the total absence of inscriptions, as well as of historical evidence that can possibly be brought to bear directly upon the question, the precise period when the castrum of Regulbium was erected, as well as others on the Saxon shore, must remain a matter of conjecture. That they were, however, of comparatively late origin, may be inferred from the information which has been handed down to us, in a broken form, on the military transactions of the Romans in Britain. The southern part of the province appears to have enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity from the time of Claudius to a late period. This was partly secured by the policy which left the native British princes possession of territories, and

that shew of independence which reconciled the petty chiefs to become the instruments of the Romans in obtaining more effectually the tribute from their subjects; and partly by the influence of commercial intercourse, and the introduction of the comforts and luxuries of a superior civilization. The seat of war was removed from the south to the north. The wars in Britain carried on by Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Commodus, and Severus, were confined to the north; and the total absence of permanent military establishments in the southern part of the provinces, is the best proof that can be adduced of its freedom from any serious disturbance and apprehension of internal rebellion or foreign invasion. In such times, fortresses on the eastern and southern coasts could not possibly be needed, and we must seek their origin in some cause analogous to that which dictated the necessity for the great military fortifications in the north.

In the latter half of the third century, the great and sudden blow which was given to the imperial power by the boldness and ability of Carausius, is brought before us with circumstances which direct our attention to occurrences that foreshadow alarms from a new quarter, and Britain was now subjected to invasions by sea. During the usurpation of Carausius and Allectus, large bodies of Franks and Saxons had been introduced and mixed with the Romano-British population; and though the coming of Constantius freed the province of these formidable intruders, the relief was but temporary, and we often find them at subsequent intervals, making descents on the British coast, and contesting with vigour the Roman arms in Gaul. It seems, therefore, that probably not long after the recovery of Britain from Allectus, the line of coast called the Saxon shore was fortified with the *castra* enumerated

in the *Notitia* ; but at what particular period, the vague historical narratives which bear on the history of Britain, furnish no means of determining. When Theodosius (under Valentinian and Valens) expelled the Picts, Scots, and Saxons, from Britain, he is stated to have rebuilt the cities and garrison towns, and strengthened the *castra* and *limites* with watches and *prætenturæ*.¹

In the reign of the same princes, a short time after, Ammianus Marcellinus relates, the Saxons again invaded the Roman territories, and were, by stratagem, utterly destroyed. The historian does not state where this descent was made, whether in Gaul, or in Britain ; but, in a subsequent chapter, the event is referred to in a manner which would indicate a connexion, at least, with the latter province.

Throughout the reign of Valentinian there is continual mention made of building fortresses along the Rhine, and on the limits of the western provinces exposed to hostile invasion, which, coupled with the direct accounts of the operations in Britain against the Saxons, may suggest this as the period at which Regulbium and the other *castra* on the maritime tract were built. But this supposition would scarcely give half a century for the accumulation of the remains which are found within them, betokening, from comparative observations, much longer occupation. The discovery of one inscription, such as those found at Clausentum,² would do more towards throwing a light on the date of the stations on the Saxon shore, than all the information we can collect from written history ; and that monuments which bear the required records,

¹ Igstaurabat urbes et præsiaria, ut diximus, castra, limites que vigillis tuebatur et prætenturis.—*Amm. Marcel.* lib. xxviii, cap. iii.

² See the volume of Proceedings of the Second Congress of the Archæological Association, held at Winchester.

may yet lie buried in or about the ruins of these extensive stations, is a belief that may at least be safely indulged, and possibly, at no remote period, be realized.

When the *Notitia* was compiled, or at least that portion of it relating to Britain, Regulbium was garrisoned by the first cohort of the Vetasii, under the command of a tribune. The Vetasii, or Betasii, were a people of that part of Belgic Gaul, now called Brabant. They are mentioned by Pliny along with the Nervii, Tungri, Sunuci, Frisiabones, and others; and by Tacitus, in conjunction with the Tungri and Nervii, as cooperating with the Roman army in Germany, on the occasion of the rebellion of the Batavi and Treveri, under Civilis,¹ in the reign of Vespasian. Civilis seeing his power increased by an alliance with the people of Colonia, resolved on gaining to his side the neighbouring states. The Sunicians had already submitted to him, and he had formed the youth which were capable of bearing arms into regular cohorts.² To oppose him, Claudius Labeo advanced at the head of a body of *Betasii*, Tungrii, and Nervii, raised by sudden levies; but the whole of these allies after awhile went over to the standard of Civilis. Cluverius³ remarks, that the Tungri and Betasi of Tacitus

¹ In this memorable rebellion, the veteran Batavian cohorts, which had previously served in Britain as auxiliaries, and were then quartered at Magon-tiacum (Metz), joined their countrymen.

² "*Occupatis Suniciis, Claudius Labeo Betasiorum Tungrorumque et Nerviorum tumultuaria manu restitit, fretus loco, quia pontem Mosæ fluminis anteeperat.*" (*Hist.* iv, c. LXVI.) From which it would appear, Cluverius observes, that we may locate the Sunici at Luxemburg; the Betasi at Juliacum; the Frisiaboni at Limburg. He adds, there is at the present day a village in Brabant, on the left bank of the Geta, situated between the towns of Halen and Seene, called *Beets*, in which name, he thinks, is a trace of the ancient Betasii.

³ Germ. Antiq. lib. ii, cap. xxi.

are the same as the Eburones and Atuatici of Cæsar: and as Cæsar unites the Eburones, Atuatici, and Nervii, so Tacitus speaks of the Tungri, Betasii, and the same Nervii.

The Betasii are mentioned in two rescripts of Trajan and Hadrian, by which it appears, that in the reigns of these emperors, among numerous auxiliary soldiers, the first cohort was then serving in Britain. These rescripts are in favour of certain veterans who, having served their full time, were discharged, and received the privileges of Roman citizens, and the right of marrying with the wives they then had, or (if any of them were single) with whom they might afterwards intermarry. The first of these decrees, that of Trajan, enumerates four *alæ* and ten cohorts; the second, six *alæ* and twenty-four cohorts; among these allies, associated with the Betasii, are the Sunuci or Sunici, the Nervii, and the Tungri, before mentioned, with other bodies, chiefly from Spain, Gaul, and Belgic Gaul.¹ The monumental inscriptions which mention the Betasii are, one found at Elenfoot (the *Virosidum* of the *Notitia*, stations on the line of the wall), in Cumberland,² erected to *Mars Militaris*, by the first cohort, commanded by Julius Tutor; and two on the Rhine, the one found at Mayence, the other at Kattwyk.³ The different ways in which this name is

¹ These rescripts, or military diplomas, are engraved on brass plates. One was found at Malpas, in Cheshire; the other at Stanington, in Yorkshire. There is a third, which was found at Sydenham, in Kent. It is of Trajan, and gives the names of two *alæ* and ten cohorts, among which are the Tungri, Nervii, the Frisiani, and a name of which the termination only remains, probably included the Betasii. Two of these rescripts are preserved in the British Museum.

² Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 281.

³ Steiner's *Codex Inscript. Rom. Rheni*. Nos. 491 and 965.

spelt is remarkable. Tacitus writes it *Betasii* or *Bethasii*; Pliny, *Betasi*; in the rescripts, and on the Cumberland inscription, it is *Bactasii*; in that of Mayence, it is *Betaesii*; in that of Kattwyk, the first four letters only are given, *Baet*; in the *Notitia*, it is *Vetasii*. The inscriptions which have been found along the line of the wall, as well as in other parts of this country, recording the presence of foreign auxiliary troops, are very numerous. They enumerate, besides those just referred to, bodies levied from various parts of Germany, Gaul, and Spain; and, to a much less extent, from Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Thrace. Many of these may be recognized as, in earlier times, opposing, with obstinate bravery, the invaders of their native land; after awhile they appear on the scene as the comrades of their former enemies, helping them to reduce to servitude neighbouring states and countries; or occasionally making a like effort to throw off the foreign yoke, opposed, perhaps, in turn by the very tribes and states they had contributed to bring under the Roman rule. It was only by the means of these auxiliary troops that the Romans were enabled to hold in possession such an immense extent of provincial territory, and to Romanize so effectually the conquered countries. With the blood of the provinces, remarks Tacitus, the provinces are subdued; but the history of the human race at all periods presents a very similar picture of aggressive violence, and the drama of war is the great popular spectacle, which seems not amenable to the laws of reason and justice, nor to the fate of other barbarous customs of past times.

The Roman provinces, however, do not appear to have suffered any very severe or prolonged hardships, beyond such as must necessarily always arise, in a transition from a state of half-savage

liberty to civilized subjugation. On the contrary, such a vast acquisition of territory could never have been maintained by force and oppression. To the loss of liberty of one kind, succeeded privileges and a certain degree of freedom, which the maxims of a government assimilated to that of Italy secured, with all the advantages which arise from superior civilization, and the introduction of arts, commerce, and manufactures. Under the name of allies, the various states furnished troops, which were trained in the Roman discipline, and incorporated in the legions; and their fidelity was ensured by honours and distinctions while on duty, and by certain rights and an allowance of land, at the expiration of the usual period of military service. The auxiliary cohorts, evidently as a precautionary measure against insurrection, were sent to serve at a considerable distance from their native country; and nowhere is this fact so fully established, as by inscriptions discovered in various places, which reveal a systematic interchange of auxiliary soldiers among the provinces. The *Notitia* presents a comprehensive and complete view of the distribution of the Roman military establishment; and shews, at the same time, that a large proportion of it consisted of auxiliaries.

The military tactics of the Romans had undergone such a change, that it is impossible to estimate the numerical amount of the troops designated in the *Notitia* as legions, cohorts, and alæ, from the number of soldiers these bodies were known respectively to contain in the earlier and more flourishing days of the empire. The organization of the Roman army in the time of Constantine, was arranged on principles very different from those on which its construction was based in the time of Julius; and, in the fourth century, disastrous circumstances must have rendered more lax

the old standard which regulated the military appointments, and the severe discipline which characterized the soldiers under the earlier emperors. Thus there are one cohort and six *numeri* of foot soldiers, in the *castra* on the Saxon shore; the term *numerus*, in later times, appears to have been used to designate a cohort, and in the fourth century, it is probable the distinction between them was not great. Ammianus¹ speaks of Valentinian appointing Fraomarius, king of the Bucinobantes, tribune over a *numerus* of the Alamanni in Britain. The cohort at Regulbium cannot be estimated at more than 300 or 400 men; while the legion at Rutupiae could not well have exceeded 1,200 or 1,500. Pancirollus calculates the forces under the count of the Saxon shore as 2,400; namely, the legion, 1,000; the five *numeri* and one cohort, 1,200 (200 each); and the cavalry 200.

Under the head of Richborough, reference has been made to the account of the Saxon shore in the *Notitia*, and some reasons were assigned for placing the date of the compilation of that work at a period somewhat earlier than has been usually proposed, or than what would indeed seem warranted by its title. The term *Littus Saxonicum*, naturally suggests inquiry, why this part of the coast of Britain was thus denominated? On the one hand, it has been usually considered to denote that portion of the coast more particularly exposed to the descents of the Saxons; and there can be but little doubt that the strong military force which in the latter

¹ In Macriani locum Bucinobantibus, quæ contra Mogontiacum gens est Alamanna, regem Fraomarium ordinavit; quem paullo postea, quoniam recens excursus eundem penitus vastaverat pagum, in Britannos translatum potestate tribuni, Alamannorum præfecerat numero, multitudine viribusque ea tempestate florenti.—Lib. xxix, cap. iv.

half of the fourth century was drawn from other parts of Britain, and stationed in the nine garrisons, under the government of a *comes*, or count, with a civil and military establishment, was designed to protect this part of the province from the invasions of the Saxons, in the same manner as the other auxiliary soldiers were quartered in the *castra* on the northern wall, to repel the Picts and Scots. The entire Roman forces then in Britain, were concentrated on these two important points. On the other hand, the designation of *Littus Saxonicum* is accounted for, on the supposition that on this part of the British coast Saxons had already settled and occupied certain districts under the Roman jurisdiction. The same term is applied in the *Notitia* to a part of the Armorican coast, and also to a portion of the Belgic region.

It must, however, be borne in mind, that among the early German allies, who were so long in Britain with the Roman soldiers, the Saxons are not mentioned; nor do they constitute any part of the military establishment of the province, as enumerated in the *Notitia*.¹ In the reign of Valentinian (A.D. 370), while invading the neighbouring territories, under the Roman government, they incurred a severe check, and their army was utterly destroyed. In the early part of the reign of Honorius, they are repeatedly mentioned by Claudian, as subdued by Stilicho; and Britain is represented as no longer fearing their approach.² They

¹ It may also be noted, that Saxons are mentioned, in the same *Notitia*, among the auxiliary troops in the east. They were probably hostages, or prisoners, captured by Theodosius. Constantius received some captive Franks from Julian, and enrolled them among his domestic guards.

² Inde Caledonio velata Britannia monstro,
 Ferro picta genas, cujus vestigia verrit
 Cærulûs, oceanique æstûm mentitur amictus :

appear, in short, upon the page of history at this epoch, when the term *Littus Saxonicum* is used and the region it distinguishes is fortified, as fierce and dangerous foes; and we find no evidence, either in written history, or in monumental inscriptions, from which a settlement, such as might justify the application of the term "Saxon shore", might be inferred. Neither in previous times do any events connected with this nation seem to suggest any acquisition of lands in Britain, such as might explain the origin of the appellation. To descend much later: towards the middle of the fifth century, when Bede and the *Saxon Chronicle* tell us the Saxons had land ceded to them in Kent, we could understand why these possessions might be called the Saxon shore; but, as before observed, the arrangements of the *Notitia* obviously refer to a far anterior time, and if it were completed, as we have it, at or after the middle of the fifth century, then the references to the Saxon shore must be additions, made long subsequent to the drawing up of the work itself, a supposition not very reasonable. In A.D. 367, on the arrival of Theodosius, there seem to have been precisely the same defences on the sea-coast, as are so specially described in the *Notitia*; but instead of *Comes littoris Saxonici*, it was *Comes maritimi tractus*, and the *comes*¹ then in

Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilichon, totam quum Scotus Iærnen
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.
Illius effectum curis, ne tela timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremere, ne litore toto
Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.

In Prim. Cons. Stilich. lib. ii, l. 247.

¹ Nectaridius. At this time the Batavi and Heruli are marched against the Saxons. See p. 8, *ante*. Shortly after, we read (A.D. 370):—Erupt Augustis

charge of the sea-coasts had been slain by the Saxons and Franks, before the arrival of Theodosius ; and, receiving these terms as synonymous, we may conclude that these garrisoned fortresses of the Saxon shore, or sea-coast, were maintained for the purpose for which they are indicated by the *Notitia*, up to the time of the final withdrawal of the Romans from Britain.

Reculver, at the present day, presents a very different aspect to Richborough. The vestiges of the walls of the *castrum* want that solemn grandeur and impressive majesty of loneliness which distinguish the more perfect remains of its ancient ally. The capricious sea, which has deserted its old boundaries at Richborough, and left dry the estuary which formerly separated Thanet from the mainland, has swallowed up one half of the site of Regulbium, and annihilated as much of its walls. The encroachments of generations of villagers, and of a once flourishing monastic establishment, have aided the waves in dismantling the place of architectural characteristics, and of its more prominent and striking features of antiquity ; and the thousands of voyagers who daily pass the site, and see a dark mass of cottages, and the two spires of a desecrated church, situated upon a cliff slightly elevated above the land on either side, see only a picturesque spot, adding to the natural beauties of the Kentish coast a pleasing diversity of scenery ; and they pass on upon their watery way. If one, more curious than his companions, is tempted to ask the history of the desolated church with its towers and spires, he may probably be told that

ter Coss. Saxonum multitudo : et oceani difficultatibus permeatis, Romanum limitem gradu petebat intento, sæpe nostrorum funeribus pasta : cujus eruptionis primæ procellam Nannenus sustinuit comes, regionibus iisdem adpositus, dux diuturno bellorum labore compertus.—*Amm. Marcel. lib. xxviii, cap. v.*

these steeples are called "the two sisters", and hear one of those legends which popular ignorance everywhere so readily invents, to account for the origin of objects which appear mysterious or remarkable. He little knows, nor perhaps cares to know, the events and revolutions which that little spot of land has witnessed, in times, to him, of unsuspected antiquity. The more adventurous visitors of adjoining watering-places, who are attracted thither in the ordinary routine of sight-seeing, are satisfied with the interest attached to all places which present a diversity of impressions; and Reculver is one which must gratify, on a summer's day, all save the most unimpassioned and listless observer. The difficulty (not insurmountable) of access; the church in ruins; the half obliterated gravestones, marking where "the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep"; the bleached bones, which strew the beach, of the nameless ejected tenants of graves undermined by the waters; the broken framework of human bodies, projecting from the black unctuous cliff; a few fishermen's cottages, and a little inn, designated (not by the Herald's College) the "Ethelbert's Arms", present themes for reflection, and objects to gratify the general visitor, though he may return home without having been accompanied by a guide to the Roman antiquities of Reculver.

The village of Reculver is situated about three miles from Herne Bay, nine from Canterbury, and ten from Margate. From Canterbury and from Sandwich, it can now be reached as far as Grove Ferry by railway, and from thence across the fields; but the distance is considerable, the road circuitous, and in the winter months, until the high-road leading to Brooke is gained, almost impassable. Across the marshes from St. Nicholas-at-Wade it is still more inaccessible, except during the summer months. As,

indeed, it is seldom visited by land except by way of Herne Bay. The cut given at page 175 has been engraved from a drawing made at Brooke Hill, whence the full extent of the south wall of the castrum is seen ; and the accumulation of earth in the interior is clearly perceived, by comparison with the level of the exterior ground. Northmouth, the ancient northern mouth of the estuary, is to the right ; and the village of Reculver is concealed on the left by the rising ground. The cut below is a nearer view, taken from the Canterbury road. The wall to the left, to the extent of ten or twelve rods, is wholly destroyed, or concealed by the soil ; the western angle is close to the right of the inn in the foreground.



Reculver—land side.

The original state and extent of the castrum, as before observed, is with difficulty to be ascertained from existing remains. The south wall, shewn in the engravings, and the east, are yet standing, in broken and dilapidated condition ; the north wall is

entirely destroyed by the sea ; the west is partly levelled, but a considerable portion is preserved, being concealed by the out-houses of the inn. From measurements made by Mr. Boys, in 1781, when some rods of the north wall and the north-east angle remained, the castrum, when entire, appears to have occupied eight acres, one rood, one pole, of ground ; and the area within the walls measured seven acres, two roods, and twenty-six poles.

The walls are destitute of any traces of towers, which it may be supposed never existed, or some remains of foundations would still indicate their position. Neither does there appear to have been more than one entrance, which was in the centre of the west wall, opposite the church. Unlike Richborough, the castrum was walled completely on the four sides, an arrangement which the nature of the site rendered unavoidable. The thickness of the walls, when perfect with the facings, must have been from eleven to twelve feet. Facing-stones are at the present day only to be found in certain parts of the exterior of the east wall. Whether they remain in the interior, cannot be easily ascertained, from the great accumulation of earth, which has risen to the level of the top of the walls, which on the exterior are about twelve feet in height.

The walls are chiefly built of flints and pebbles, collected probably from the beach, intermixed with layers of septaria,¹ which

¹ Mr. Brown, whose remarks on ancient remains are printed under the head of Richborough, has very kindly forwarded to us some observations on the septaria. "These stones," he observes, "were formed in the London clay. They occur in that deposit at intervals, and in horizontal rows or layers, like the flints in the chalk formation. They are composed of argillo-calcareous matter, aggregated by means of chemical affinity, and afterwards concreted into tolerably hard stone. The greater portion of the cliffs on the Essex coast, and in the Isle of Sheppy, is composed of London clay ; and the action of the sea,

also enters largely into the masonry of the walls of Colchester, but is not noticed in those of Richborough. The foundation is a thick stratum of round pebbles; and from what is yet visible in the end of the east wall projecting over the cliff, a thick moulding of concrete, or plaister, seems to have been carried round in the interior bottom of the wall. The chief peculiarity of the masonry is the absence of tiles, which in that of Richborough, of Lymne, and other places, form such a very conspicuous feature; and also the absence of pounded tile in the mortar. It has been supposed that bonding courses of tiles may have formed part of the original construction; but the remains are yet sufficient to controvert that opinion. In the south of England it is extremely rare to meet with an instance of the absence of bonding tiles in the walls of Roman towns and stations; in the great northern wall and in its *castella* the reverse is a general rule. In other respects, the castrum at Reculver, as far as the mutilated remains of the walls admit of comparison, does not deviate from the general system which regulated the construction of such works.

In Leland's time, Reculver stood "wythin a quarter of a myle, or a little more, of the se syde." The gradual progress of the sea is shewn by a survey made about one hundred and fifty years subsequent, which is now in the possession of Mr. Robert Collard, of

by crumbling down the cliffs, has liberated the septaria, and thereby afforded good building materials. The coast all round the Isle of Sheppy is noted for supplying septaria to the manufactories of Parker's cement; and dredging for these stones daily off Harwich and Walton has been practised for many years, affording employment for from sixty to seventy fishing smacks all the year round. These stones not only form one of the chief materials of the Roman walls of Colchester, and of the castle, but they have also been extensively used for the walls of numerous village churches of the district."

Brooke,¹ who has permitted the accompanying fac-simile to be made for our volume ; it is the more acceptable, as the plan is

¹ This interesting document is entitled, "A Mapp, and description of a farme wth 12 parcells of land there belonging, lying in the parish of Reculver, in y^e county of Kent, being owned by Mr. Gideon Despaigne (and by his order measured and herein described) ; being now in y^e tenure or occupation of Robert Wellbe. Measured and mapt by Thomas Hill, sworne surveyor, 1685." The map is described as shewing also the persons' names whose land bound thereunto. A considerable portion of the map is occupied by plain marsh-land and fields, an ornamental border enclosing the title, and a long historical description, which is given below. No portion of any interest has been omitted in our engraving, if we except a part of the western boundary, at the distance of a hundred and fifty-five rods from the church tower, where appears "a place anciently for a harber of ships, called now the Old Pen", and which runs inland from the cliff in a diagonal direction westward, for forty-six rods in length, but not more than forty-eight rods distance from the cliff at its extremest inland point.

The historical description, above alluded to, is as follows :—"Neer the church of Reculver was once an ancient towne (but now demolished, except a small village of houses yet standing). Anciently, there was a Mint, or coynage for Roman money, being then under that empire ; for in the days of Severus, emperor of Rome (being 1480 years since), built here a castle, which he fortified against the Britains, the foundation yet to be seene about the church (like the figure on this plott, about 10 acres of land), neer a mile distance then from the sea, only a large river (called Wantsume, but now Marshland) which passed neer the east side of this castle at x, so winding it selfe about by the castle of Richborrow, so opening into the sea where Sandwich since is built. And 382 yeers after, Ethelbert, the fifth king of Kent, made this castle his palace for him and his successors ; and 213 years after that, Eadbert, another king of Kent, built here a colledge, and dedicated it to the Virgene Mary. And Ano. Dom. 792, Egbert, a king likewise of the said county, built in this parish a Monasterie of y^e order of St. Benedict ; and short time after, another king (Eadrice by name) gave it to Christ Church, of Canterbury, to w^{ch} it yet continues.

"This parish is in the liberty of St. Austine ; but the Mannor, the Archbishop of Canterbury claimeth there," etc.

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unpublished, and probably unknown, except to its owner. The original appears to have been prepared with care, and may be relied on, as giving an accurate view of the relative position of the village, the church and other buildings within the castrum, the walls of which are represented as entire. About a century later, when Mr. Boys published a plan of the church and castrum,¹ the north wall of the latter had lately been overthrown by a fall of the cliff. Mr. Freeman² states, that in 1805, the church-yard was entire, surrounded with its walls (see the plan); and between the church wall and the cliff was a highway broad enough to admit of carriages. "In 1809," he adds, "the distance from the north angle of the tower to the edge of the cliff is reduced to five yards only." Our map exhibits the ancient chapel and other buildings mentioned by Leland, and of which views are given, unfortunately without architectural details, in the *Bibliotheca Topographica*; the village was then of considerable extent, but now at least half of it has shared the fate of the northern part of the castrum. If the "quarter of a mile or little more" of Leland be estimated by his usual mode of reckoning distances, Reculver may be considered as half a mile from the sea when he made his survey. The following is Leland's account of Reculver:—

Reculver, ii. myles and more be water, and a mile *dim.* by land, beyownd *Heron*, ys fro *Cantorbury* v. goode myles, and stondeth withyn a quarter of a

¹ *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, vol. i, 1780-90. This valuable work, now become rare, contains several communications on Reculver; of which the deeds and charters relating to its history in the middle ages form the most useful portion. The views of the church, being taken from different points, give a perfect notion of the state of the place towards the end of the last century.

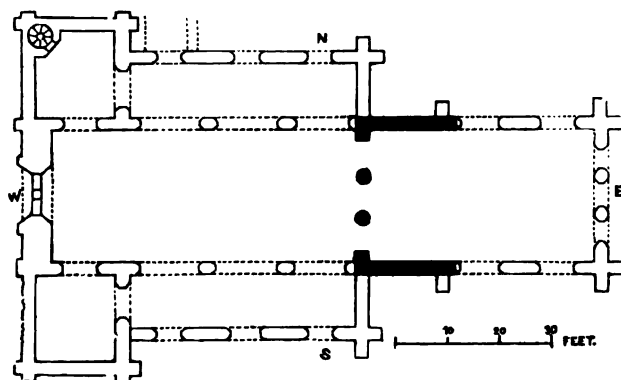
² Author of *Regulbium*, a poem, with an historical and descriptive account of the Roman Station at Reculver. 12mo. 1810.

myle, or little more, of the se syde. The towne, at this tyme, is but village lyke. Sumtyme, wher as the parochie chyrch is now, was a fayre and a greate abbaye, and *Brightwald*, archbishop of *Cant.* was of that howse. The old building of the chyrch of the abbay remayneth, having ii. goodly spiring steples. Yn the enterying of the quyer ys one of the fayrest, and the most auntyent crosse that ever I saw, a ix. footes, as I ges, yn highte. It standeth lyke a fayr columnne. The base greate stone ys not wrought. The second stone, being rownd, hath curiously wrought and paynted the images of *Christ*, *Peter*, *Paule*, *John* and *James*, as I remember. Christ sayeth, *ego sum Alpha & ω*. *Peter* sayith, *Tu es Christus filius dei vivi*. The saying of the other iii. wher painted *majusculis literis Ro.*, but now obliterated. The second stone is of the Passion. The iii. containeth the xii. Apostles. The iiij. hath the image of Christ hanging, and fastenened with iiij. nayles, and *sub pedibus sustentaculum*. The hiest part of the pyller hath the figure of a crosse. In the chyrch is a very auntyent Boke of the Evangelyes *in majusculis literis Ro.*, and yn the bordes therof ys a chystal stone, thus inscribed : *CLAVDIA. ATEPICCVS*. Yn the north side of the chyrch is the figure of a bishop paynted under an arch. In digging abowt the chyrch-yard they find old bokels of girdels and rings. The hole precinct of the monastery appereth by the old walle ; and the vicarage was made of ruines of the monastery. Ther is a neglect chapel, owt of the chyrch-yard, wher sum say was a paroch chyrch or the abbay was suppressed and given to the bishop of *Cant.* Ther hath bene much *Romain* mony fownd abowt *Reculver*.¹

The church of Reculver has been so frequently and so well described, that, were the subject not foreign to the purpose of our volume, it would be unnecessary to repeat what has been written of it in well known and accessible works. But a very remarkable portion was brought to light, during the demolition of the edifice, which, up to the present time, has apparently remained unrecorded, except by the drawings and notes of the late Mr. Joseph Gandy, A.R.A., in the possession of Mr. C. J. Richardson, who has very kindly placed them at our disposal. These records will prove most acceptable to our readers ; while, at the same time, they add

¹ *Itinerary*, vol. vii, p. 136.

to the regret that is felt by all reflecting and right-minded persons, that a building, possessing such claims on the national protection, and on the sympathy of those who were peculiarly constituted its defenders and guardians, should have been consigned to destruction, in a manner alike disgraceful to the projectors of the selfish and heartless job, and to the legislature of the day, which passively tolerated such Vandalism.

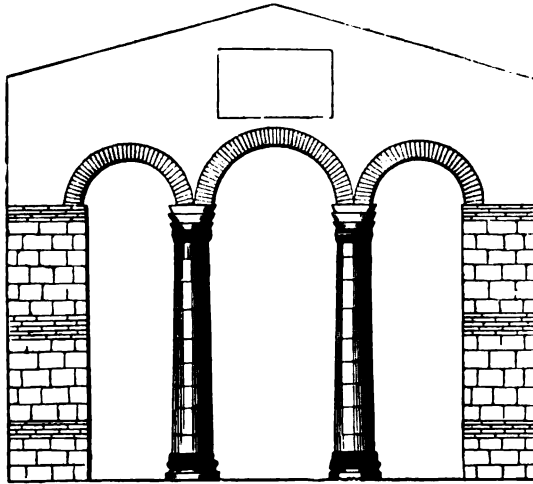


Plan of Reculver Church.

The ground-plan, given above, shews the church in its perfect state. It consisted of a nave, a chancel, and north and south aisles, with two square towers, which are yet standing. The nave was separated from the side-aisles by four square pillars on each side, supporting pointed arches, the pillars being 8 feet 10 inches, by 2 feet 9 inches. The chancel was separated from the nave, by one large and two smaller semicircular arches. It is in these arches, and their columns, including portions of the side-walls, represented with a dark shade in the plan, that I would direct attention.

The annexed cut represents an elevation, shewing the architec-

tectural peculiarities of the columns, the arches, and the walls. The arches were turned with Roman tiles, and the walls banded

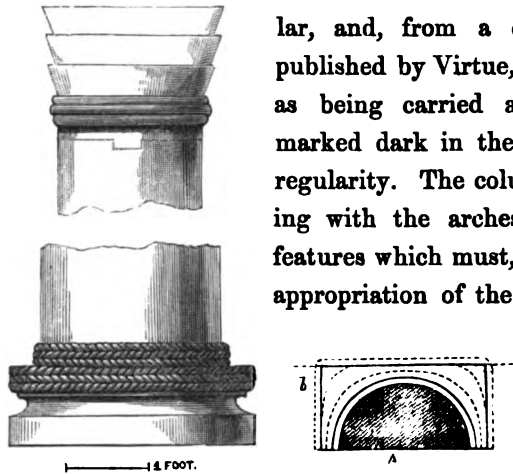


Roman Architecture, forming part of Reculver Church, now destroyed.
Height of Column, 17 feet; height of Arch, 23 feet.

with three courses of the same, the upper and lower, in each wall, consisting of four rows, the centre of five; the walls are described as of rough stone. Unfortunately, the mortar, an important evidence in determining pure Roman masonry, is not described; but there is every other requisite for referring this remarkable portion of the church to the Roman epoch. A question may at once be anticipated, as to the probability of this more ancient part of the church being constructed by the Saxons, *more Romano*. But we possess no remains of Saxon architecture, so perfectly copied after the Roman style as these would be, could they be considered as the work of Saxon masons, under the guidance of the ecclesiastics, at a period when specimens of Roman buildings existed as types and

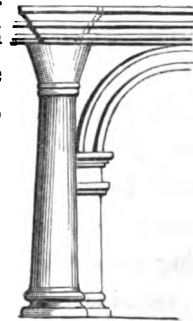
models. There is a neatness and finish in the masonry, which is wanting in the instances of Saxon work with which we are familiar; the courses of tiles are remarkably regular, and, from a drawing by Bartlett, published by Virtue, they are represented as being carried along the side wall, marked dark in the plan, with the same regularity. The columns, also, harmonizing with the arches and walls, present features which must, I submit, decide the appropriation of the work to the Roman

period. An enlarged view of one of the columns is given in the annexed cut, in which those peculiarities



Column supporting Chancel Arches in Reculver Church. A is the plan of the Column, the dotted lines shewing the plan of the Cap.

marking them as Roman are more clearly shewn. The capital,¹ the cable-pattern mouldings, and the increased diameter of the bottom of the shaft of the columns, appear to admit of no objection to the early epoch to which I assign them. For comparison of the peculiar character of the capitals of the columns, a portion of an architectural ornament on a Roman sarcophagus, in the collection at Ince Blundell, is here given.



Ince Blundell.

¹ Mr. Charles Baily suggests that the capital may possibly have been intended for bronze foliated ornaments of the Corinthian order.

It is altogether hopeless to be able to ascertain what the Roman edifice was, the remains of which formed part of the church of Reculver; neither can it be determined when the other parts of the original building were destroyed. It may have been perfect when the Saxons occupied Reculver, and by them may have been devoted to the purposes of a church; which, probably, suffered during the invasions of the Danes, or by the accidents of time, and it may have undergone restorations and alterations at various periods; until in the nineteenth century, having survived so many vicissitudes, it was wantonly destroyed. That it was a public structure, having some claims to architectural beauty, must be inferred from the portion under consideration; probably it was either a basilica or a temple, which, we know, served as models for the early English churches and often for the churches themselves. Down to the seventh century, the Roman temples, as well as the statues of the gods and goddesses, remained unaffected by the progress of Christianity: and when the success of Augustine warranted Pope Gregory in securing the advantages gained, he instructed the missionaries, who were aiding Augustine in Britain, not to destroy the temples, but to adapt them to the use of the new religion. "When, therefore, Almighty God," he writes to Mellitus, "shall bring you to the most reverend bishop Augustine, our brother, tell him what I have, upon mature deliberation on the affair of the English, determined upon; namely, that the temples of the idols in that nation ought not to be destroyed; but let the idols that are in them be destroyed; let holy water be made and sprinkled in the said temples; let altars be erected, and relics placed. For if those temples are well built, it is requisite that they be converted from the worship of devils to the service of

the true God ; that the nation, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may remove error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God, may the more familiarly resort to the places to which they have been accustomed. And because they have been used to slaughter many oxen in the sacrifice to devils, some solemnity must be exchanged for them on this account ; as that on the day of the dedication, or the nativities of the holy martyrs whose relics are there deposited, they may build themselves huts of the boughs of trees, about those churches which have been turned to that use from temples, and celebrate the solemnity with religious feasting, and no more offer beasts to the devil, but kill cattle to the praise of God in their eating, and return thanks to the giver of all things for their sustenance."¹

This church possessed then especial claims for preservation. The Roman architecture gave it a distinctive feature of remote antiquity, of which it would be difficult to find another example in this country. It stood as a monument of the downfall of paganism and the triumph of Christianity ; upwards of a thousand years our forefathers had preserved, endowed, and repaired it, and generation after generation had called it theirs, and within its walls had ratified the obligations of social life ; they had died, and were buried about it. Tradition hallowed it as the burial-place of Ethelbert, who received and protected Augustine. Monuments of the ancestors of rich and influential families, whose near relatives also lay there interred, stood within and around its walls. The church, at the commencement of the present century, though it had been neglected and was dilapidated, might have been easily repaired ; but the gentry and clergy abandoned it to jobbers and speculators,

¹ Bede's *Eccles. Hist.* lib. i, chap. xxx.

who seized upon the venerable pile, tore it to pieces and divided the spoil; and old people, who remember the circumstances, tell how the bells fell to the share of one, the lead to another, recount the prices at which the materials were sold, and relate how, ere long, the curse of heaven fell on all the destroyers of the church; that nothing prospered with them, and that, at last, they and their families came to misery and ruin.¹

The ancient remains which have been discovered at Reculver, were as abundant and interesting as those which have been collected from Richborough; but, save a well-written and learned discourse in Latin, by Battely,² no record has been preserved of them, and with a few exceptions, which will presently be referred to, the objects themselves have passed away from the locality, never to be identified, and rendered useless in relation to its history. Many have doubtless perished, and many may yet lie among those numerous collections of antiquities in our private and public museums, the local origin of which has long since been forgotten. Battely, while rector of Adisham, was to Reculver, what Mr. Rolfe is to Richborough, the tutelary *genius loci*. The zealous labours of such persons are but little appreciated by the world, and their example is seldom followed; and those who are best adapted by circumstances to observe and collect facts which illustrate ancient local history, are usually the least qualified, by

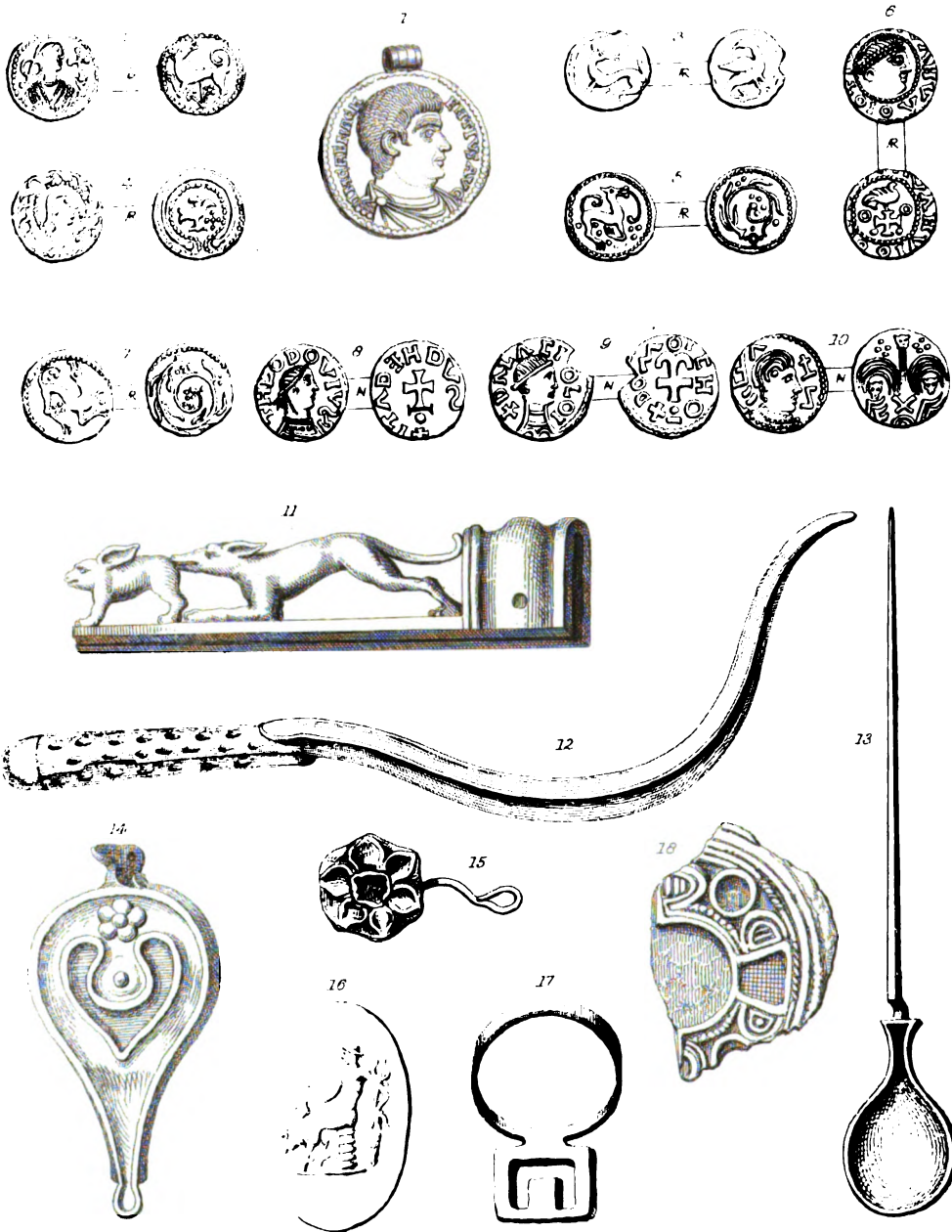
¹ The reader, who may be inclined to go into the repulsive details of this heartless destruction of the church, should consult the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the years 1808-10; among other illustrations he will there find a view of the vicarage-house converted into a gin and beer shop and christened "The Hoy"!

² *Antiquitates Rutupinae*, 8vo., Oxon. 1711. A second edition, in small 4to., was published in 1745; and an abridged translation, in 8vo., in 1774.

taste or by education, to understand and apply them ; the wants and enjoyments of the present, and the worldly hopes of the future, constitute the business of life, and the past is regarded only as a dry and obsolete book, whose pages of wisdom, to the busy actors in the present scene, are dull and unprofitable. Battely's dissertation, the result of a few years' patient and zealous inquiry and observation, is a striking exception to this general indifference to the history of the past. It was in 1708 this earnest toiler in a nook of the field of antiquity died. Had his place been supplied by a succession of kindred minds, it may be calculated, from what he gathered, how much might have been preserved for the history of Regulbium. Multiply this instance by parallel cases, and by the fate of hundreds of places in our country the antiquities of which have never found a chronicler, and a slight notion may be formed of the extent of the positive loss and destruction of our ancient national monuments. But regrets and censures will not lighten our present task, nor resuscitate materials for its more satisfactory accomplishment ; so, with hope for the future, and thankfulness for the little that is left, we proceed to give a notice of the information which has been preserved by Battely's labours.

Mention is made of a small building, constructed almost entirely of Roman tiles. It was probably the chapel-house, shewn in our map. Though considered as Roman work, Battely proves it was not necessarily so because Roman tiles were used ; but was probably mediæval, built with materials from some Roman building. At this time the sea was making rapid inroads, and acres of land were being washed away, to the injury of the proprietor, and to the disclosure of foundations of buildings, tiles, coins, vases, etc.;

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Drawn & Engraved by F.W. Paulsell F.S.A.

ANTIQUITIES, discovered at RECUVER.

which being separated, by the force of the waves, from the earth, were picked up by the villagers on the ebbing of the tide. On one occasion, from the foundering of the cliff, extensive substructures of a building were laid open ; they were the furnace and other parts of a hypocaust, composed of tiles ; the remains, also, of a tessellated pavement were for a short time visible, but were soon broken up by the tide, or embedded in the sand of the shore.

From the same cause several cisterns were also discovered, varying from ten to twelve feet square, and the same in depth ; they were formed of posts driven deep into the ground, the sides being closed up with oaken planks, two inches thick ; the bottom was of the stiffest clay, well trodden down, to prevent percolation of the water ;—in short, they were not unlike our tan-pits. These cisterns, Battely supposes, were reservoirs for rain-water, which the brackish nature of the spring-water of the neighbourhood rendered necessary. That they were of Roman origin, he considers is proved by the coins, pottery, and a strigil, which were found in them.

This strigil, which, with other antiquities found at Reculver, is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, is represented by fig. 12, pl. vii. It is in bronze, and consists of a handle covered with slight protuberances, to prevent its slipping in the hand, and a curved hollow blade. Its entire length is thirteen inches. The strigil was employed by the Greeks and Romans in scraping off the moisture which exuded from the skin during gymnastic exercises and the impurities loosened by the bath ; the hollow channels being well adapted for this purpose. The scraper, used at the present day for removing the perspiration from the coats of horses, is very analogous in principle to the strigil of the

ancients. The Reculver specimen, which differs somewhat in form from other extant examples, is well illustrated by a passage of Apuleius,¹ which describes the instrument as having one end straight, that it might be held in the hand, and the other end curved and hollow, through which the perspiration might flow.

An enigma of the poet Symposius,² conveys an equally clear notion of a strigil, which forms the solution of the riddle:—

“Rubida, curva, capax, alienis humida guttis,
Luminibus falsis auri mentita colorem,
Dedita sudori, modico succumbo labori.”

The colour of the strigil, counterfeiting gold, is a characteristic of the bronze of the ancients; and the metal could be kept bright by the oil, moisture, and constant cleaning. When ancient coins, or other objects in mixed metal, are taken from the beds of rivers, or boggy and moist earth, they often resemble gold. The countryman who found this strigil, was deceived by its colour, and thought he had secured a golden prize; while a well-known antiquary of the day, who was rather prone to apply almost everything to confirm a favourite theory, thought the strigil to be the golden sickle, with which the Druids used to cut misletoe!

The strigil is frequently mentioned by ancient authors, with allusions to its form and use; as Persius:³—

“I puer, et strigiles Crispini ad balnea defer.”

Juvenal:⁴—

“Et sonat unctis strigilibus”—

¹ “Honestam strigileculam, recta fastigatione clausulæ, flexa tubulatione ligulæ, ut et ipsa in manu capulo moraretur, et sudor ex ea rivulo laberetur.”—*Floridorum*, lib. ii.

² *Ænigmat. LXXXVI*, Poetæ Latini Minores, tom. vi, p. 561.

³ *Satyr. v.*, l. 126.

⁴ *Sat. III*, l. 263.

and Martial,¹ with reference to a place where in his days they were fabricated :—

“ Pergamus has misit, curvo distringere ferro :
Non tam sæpe teret lintea fullo tibi.”

The strigils found at Pompeii are different in shape from the Reculver example, particularly in the handles, which are open, to admit the hand. In the sepulchre of the Great Hill, at Bartlow, in Essex, among other objects, were an iron folding chair, resembling a camp stool, and two bronze strigils, described² as elegantly curved, with a small opening in each handle; they are more analogous to our specimen than to any of the foreign examples which have come under my notice.

The term strigil was also applied to a surgical instrument, probably on account of its being hollow, like the bath-scraper. Celsus³ and Pliny⁴ direct certain medicinal preparations to be warmed, and dropped in the ear by means of a strigil.

Fig. 13, on our plate, represents a kind of spoon, which was termed *cochleare*; the two-fold use of which, for picking cockles from their shells with the pointed extremity, and for taking out the meat of eggs with the concave end, will be well understood by the epigram of Martial :⁵—

“ Sum cochleis habilis, sed nec minus utilis ovis,
Numquid scis potius cur cochleare vocer ?”

The original is in silver, and is rather more than six inches in length. It is called by Julius Pollux⁶ “a digger of cockles”; and the shape of the spoon found at Reculver, leaves no doubt of its being an example of this peculiar class.

¹ Epigram. lib. xiv, 51. ² Archæol. vol. xxvi, p. 300. ³ In Re Medica, vi, 7.

⁴ Nat. Hist. xxv, 66. ⁵ Lib. xiv, 121. ⁶ Onomast. vi, 12.

Connected with understanding the form and shape of the *cochleare*, is a curious passage in Pliny, which is additionally interesting, as shewing the antiquity of a superstitious notion, still prevalent in our own country, introduced doubtlessly by the Romans. In speaking of the precautions with which incantations were avoided, he states,¹ that, to avoid evil influences, the shells, as soon as the eggs were swallowed, were broken or perforated with spoons; that is, with the pointed ends. The Rev. James Layton informs me that, at the present day, it is a very general custom among the East-Anglian rustics, to thrust the spoon through the bottom of the shell, after the egg is eaten, in order, as they say, that the witches may not have them to sail in.² This popular belief is alluded to in Beaumont and Fletcher's play of *Women Pleased*:—

“The devil should think of purchasing that egg-shell,
To victual out a witch for the Burmoother.”

Fig. 11 is the bronze handle of a clasp-knife, of which two were found at Reculver; in one, a portion of the steel blade yet remained in the shaft. It is ornamented with the design of a dog, of the greyhound species, catching a hare. In illustration of

¹ “Defigi quidem diris deprecationibus nemo non metuit; huc pertinet ovorum, ut exsorbuerit quisque, calices, cochlearumque, protinus frangi, aut eosdem cochlearibus perforari.”—*Nat. Hist.* lib. xxviii.

² Brand, in his *Popular Antiquities*, remarks, that “Sir Thomas Browne tells us, that the intent of this was, to prevent witchcraft; for lest witches should draw or prick their names therein, and veneficiously mischief their persons, they broke the shell, as Dalecampius has observed.” Delrio, in his *Disquisit. Magicæ*, lib. vi, c. 2, sect. 1, quæst. 1, has the following passage on this subject: ‘Et si ova comederint, eorum testas, non nisi ter cultro perfossas in catinum projiciunt, timentes neglectum veneficiis nocendi occasionem præbere.’—Halliwell's edit. vol. iii, p. 19. H. G. Bohn.

this favourite design of the Romans, so commonly found on their drinking-cups and other fictile vessels, Battely has not inaptly quoted Eunodius,¹ who thus describes the design on the ring of Firmina :—

“Immobilis stantem fugitat lepus arte
Molossum”;

and Nemesianus,² who speaks of the superiority of the British hunting-dogs, and of their being exported to Rome :—

“ — divisa Britannia mittit
Veloces, nostrique orbis venatibus aptos.”

The annexed cut shews a similar clasp-knife, with the remains of the steel blade. It



Roman Clasp-knife, found at Hadstock. Actual size.

was found at Hadstock, in Essex, and is now in the private museum of antiquities of the Hon. R. C. Ne-

ville, at Audley End.

Fig. 14 is the bronze enamelled pendant alluded to in p. 84. It is hollow, for the purpose of enclosing perfumes or amulets ; and from its being somewhat in the shape of a heart, and having also a heart-shaped figure embossed on it, Battely considered it a *bulla*, such as those which Macrobius³ states were given to youths of distinction, to be worn upon the breast, in the form of a heart, in order

¹ Epigr. xviii.

² In Cynegeticon, l. 124.

³ “Nonnulli credunt ingenuis pueris attributum ut cordis figuram in bulla ante pectus annecterent ; quam inspicientes ita demum se homines cogitarent, si corde præstarent. Bulla gestamen erat triumphantium, quam in triumpho præ se gerebant, inclusis intra eam remediis quæ crederent adversus invidiam valentissima.”—*Saturnal.* lib. i, cap. vi.

that, viewing them, they might think themselves men, if their hearts were rightly disposed. The same author also says, that the *bullæ* was worn by conquerors, with remedies or charms against envy enclosed in it. What these amulets were, Battely observes, he cannot conjecture, unless they were small figures of Harpocrates, with the fore-finger placed upon the lip, such as were found (at Reculver) at the same place with the *bullæ*; and he refers to a representation in Kircher,¹ described as a little casket, in the form of a heart, in the middle of which is placed a naked infant Harpocrates, with his finger on his lips, as enjoining silence. The association of Harpocrates with the *bullæ*, as noticed by Battely, would appear to be elucidated by a humorous story told by Macrobius, in his chapter on the use and origin of the *prætexta*, from which the extracts relating to the *bullæ* are taken. In early times, he states, it was a custom with the senators, to take with them into the senate-house their sons, after they had received the honourable distinction of the *prætexta* and the golden *bullæ*.² While any important business, which required postponement from day to day, was under discussion, it was decreed that perfect silence respecting it should be maintained out of doors. The mother of a certain boy, named Papirius, who had been with his father to the senate-house, being of an inquisitive disposition, asked the youth what had taken place during the meeting. The boy excused himself from telling her, by saying that he was bound to be silent on the subject. This answer made the woman more intent upon

¹ Cited by Cuper, *Harpocrates*, p. 158.

² These ornaments, when worn by the higher orders, were usually of gold. Thus Pacatus accuses Maximus of stripping his female prisoners of their rings and ornaments, and the children of the *bullæ* from their necks.—*Paneg.* c. xxvi.

knowing it. The secrecy of the matter, and the silence of the boy, excited her to question him more closely and urgently ; when, rather than betray his trust, he adroitly and wittily devised a falsehood. They were debating in the senate then, he said, whether it would be better, and conduce more to the good of the republic, if each man be allowed two wives, or if each woman be allowed two husbands. When the mother heard this, she hastened, full of agitation, to give information to all her married female friends of the measure which was contemplated ; and, on the following day the doors of the senate-house were surrounded by ladies, weeping, and praying that it might please the senate that one woman should have two husbands, rather than one husband two wives. The senators, when they arrived, wondered at the behaviour of the women, and were shocked at a display which spoke little for the modesty of the sex. Papirius, however, soon allayed the general apprehension, for he openly stated in the senate-house, how his mother had importuned him to tell what he had heard, and how he had deceived her : he told all. The conscript fathers applauded the fidelity and ingenuity of the boy, and passed a law that, for the future, boys should not be allowed to enter the senate-house, with the exception of Papirius ; on whom, moreover, they conferred the honour of the surname of *Prætextatus*, for the discretion he had shown at the period of assuming the *prætexta*, in keeping silence, and in speaking only at the proper time.

The connexion of this story with the custom of wearing the *bullæ*, the representation on the *bullæ*, figured by Kircher, of Harpocrates the god of silence,¹ and the fact, as stated by Battely,

¹ The fingers placed upon the mouth, intimated that the mysteries of religion and philosophy should not be divulged to the profane.

that small images of this divinity were found at Reculver with the *bullæ*, confirm the supposition that these figures were worn round the neck as amulets, probably to endow the wearers with prudence and circumspection.

The gold coin (fig. 1) is of Magnentius.¹ It is introduced here, not for any particular numismatic interest, but on account of its having been mounted for wearing as an ornament. The gold loop is affixed to it for the insertion of a string for suspending the coin from the neck. Roman gold coins are frequently found thus converted into personal decorations. Sometimes they are enclosed in a border of elegant filigree-work; coins of later times, and those of the Lower Empire, are more frequently mounted as this specimen.

It is coins such as these that are alluded to in a passage of Pomponius the civilian, when he says: "the reversion of ancient gold and silver coins worn as jewels, may be devised."² The Saxons followed the Roman custom, and mounted the gold coins either in a border of filigree and garnets, or coloured glass.³ They chiefly used, for this purpose, the coins of the Lower Empire, and those of the Merovingian princes; and numerous examples of them, mounted like the coin of Magnentius, have been found in the Saxon burial-places in Kent. Six of them, together with a looped

¹ *Rev.*, VICTORIA . AVG . LIB . ROMANOR.; Victory, and a woman standing, supporting a trophy; in the exergue, TR.

² Numismatum aureorum et argenteorum veterum, quibus pro gemmis uti solent, usumfructum legari posse.—Lib. xxviii, De Usufructu.

³ See the Bacton jewel, which is a coin of Mauricius (A.D. 582 to A.D. 602), set in a framework very similar in manufacture and materials to the Saxon fibulæ found in Kent. It has been figured, by Mr. Seth W. Stevenson, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. ix, p. 2.

Roman intaglio, and a gold circular ornament set with glass, were dug up, a few years since, in the yard of St. Martin's church, near Canterbury, the site of which was preoccupied by a Roman building (probably a small temple), which was presented by Ethelbert to his queen, Bertha, and her Frankish bishop, Luidhard.¹

The other Reculver antiquities mentioned by Battely, are: a bracelet of gold set with sapphires, fibulæ, buckles, pins, tweezers, bodkins, sewing and weaving needles, rings furnished with keys and set with intaglios, the bronze ornaments of chests, belts, bridles, and harness, portions of armour, a statuette of Mars and other figures in bronze, fishhooks, coins, and pottery. The quantity of implements and utensils found from time to time at Reculver, may be conjectured from the fact, that a brazier melted above thirty pounds' weight, which had been collected in a few years.

The pottery was identical in character with that described in the former part of our volume, as the description given by Battely proves. Some of the vases were ornamented with vine leaves: on one were children playing; on another, Cupid whipping and taming a lion; others were embossed with hare hunts; charioteers driving cars with four horses; lions' heads, with mouths open and perforated; games, and various other designs. The potters' names were: MARSI.M.; PRIMITIVI.; C.C.F.; and one ending with the letters TACI.

The coins figured by Battely² are British, Roman, and Saxon. Of the British he gives five specimens, in electrum. The first of these resembles fig. 36, plate II, *Ruding*, except that, above the horse, are letters placed thus, ^{II} _{AI} ^{IP}; and on the reverse, is the

¹ These coins are engraved in plates XXII and LV, vol. i, of the *Collectanea Antiqua*.

² *Antiquitates Rutupinæ*, tab. vi, edit. 1754.

letter L. Of the same class is fig. 1, and probably others in the plate of unpublished British coins found in Sussex, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. ii : the second is similar to fig. 3, pl. iv, *Rud-ing*), *obv.*, CVN. beneath a horse ; *rev.*, CAMV., the letters divided by an ear of corn : the third has on the *obv.*, a horse, and the letters TASC.; *rev.*, a pearled ornamentation, crosswise, in the angles of which is TASCI.: the fourth, *obv.*, a horse ; above, a circle and pellets ; below, a star ; *rev.*, plain : the fifth has been reversed by the artist, who has imagined and engraved a figure standing. This coin is one of a class unknown until recently, when several were found at Wonersh, near Grantly, in Surry.¹

The Roman coins referred to by Battely, are the base denarii of Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, Geta, and Elagabalus, and several of the small brass of Carausius ; he also mentions, that consular denarii had been found at Reculver, and coins of almost all the emperors, from Julius Cæsar to Honorius ; but gives no catalogue or description, with the exception of two of the denarii of Severus, and eight of the small brass of Carausius, which are engraved. Those of Carausius, being the most interesting, may here be described :

1. *Rev.* CONSERVAT. (*aug.*) ; Neptune seated ; in his right hand an anchor ; in his left, a trident reversed.

This coin was misunderstood by Battely ; the specimen he has given from Spanheim, in illustration, is double struck, and has thus misled that writer into very wild conjectures.

2. *Rev.* LEG. II... ; a centaur holding a globe and a rudder.

3. PAX. AVGGG. ; in the field, SP. ; in the exergue, MLXXI ; Peace, standing.

4 and 5, as No. 3, the obverses being of Diocletian and Maximian.

6. PROVID. AVGGG. ; in the field, SP. ; in the exergue, C. ; Providence standing.

¹ See *Num. Chron.* vol. ix, p. 92, fig. 5 ; and *Collect. Antiq.* vol. i, pl. LV1, fig. 7.

7. TEMPORVM . FELICITAS ; type of Felicity standing.

8. VIRTVS . AVG.; Mars marching, with spear and trophy.

Fig. 15, in gold, appears to have been part of an ear-ring or necklace ; it was presented to me by Dr. H. W. Diamond, F.S.A.

Fig. 16 is an intaglio in glass, which was picked up, a few years since, on the beach opposite Reculver, and is now in the possession of Mr. Edward Chard. It represents Mercury seated, holding in his right hand a purse, and in his left a caduceus ; at his feet is a cock. The supposed virtues of ancient engraved gems, and the directions given, in the middle ages, to the finders, have been previously mentioned (page 90). As Mercury was one of the most popular deities, his statues were exceedingly abundant, and his effigies and symbols were among the most favourite subjects for the gems and amulets both of the pagans and also of the gnostics, who blended many of the pagan mysteries with the Christian tenets. In the inventory preserved in the Harleian collection of manuscripts, and published by Mr. Wright, the marks and virtues of a stone bearing the image of Mercury are thus specified : “ *Est et alius lapis in quo habetur Mercurius, habens alas in dextra (sic), et in sinistra manu virgam serpente involutam : qui hunc habuerat tantum abundabit sapientia atque gratia ut nemo sibi resistere possit. Gratus erit Deo, et omni populo, et perpetua gaudebit sanitate.*” And in the French *Lapidaire* : “ *La pierre de la planette Mercure est une ymage que a esles es piés ; et en la senestre main une verge et ung serpent et est enveloppé entour elle, fait habonder sapience et donne joie, santé, et grace.*”¹

Fig. 17, a bronze casket-key, made for wearing as a finger-ring.

Fig. 18 is a fragment of a Saxon fibula, in gilt bronze, originally

¹ Archæologia, vol. xxx, p. 449-455.

of circular shape, and fastened at the back with an iron pin ; it has been set with coloured stones or glass. It belongs to a class of ornaments of great interest to the antiquary, as being remarkable for peculiarities which seem almost to restrict them to the early Kentish Saxons. Battely speaks of the fibulæ found in his time at Reculver, as being almost innumerable ; some of these, he observes, were constructed with much artistic skill and good workmanship ; they were either enameled, or had been set with precious stones.

In my observations on the Saxon coins found at Richborough, I alluded to their importance as supplying, to a certain extent, historical and topographical information, and I remarked on the peculiarities they present to the numismatist. The earliest of the Saxon coins, of which two examples are given in page 157, are those to which attention is redirected in connexion with others figured in our plate (figs. 2 to 7), which have been selected from twenty-one specimens published by Battely, and from a few preserved in the collection of Dr. Faussett of Heppington, where they are marked as having been procured from Reculver. Figs. 8, 9, and 10, from Battely, are gold coins struck by the Merovingian princes, the first race of the kings of France after Gaul was subdued by the Franks under Clovis. The first of these (fig. 8) is of Clovis himself. The obverse reads : †CHLODOVIVS ; the inscription on the reverse is the name of a moneyer, †TADENDVS ? Fig. 9: *obv.* †PALACIOLOI, *Palaiseau* ; *rev.* DOMOICENO ? These coins have been faithfully copied from Battely's plate, even to the palpable error in the first letter of the word *Chlodovius*, which is explained by the fact, that, at the period when they were published, this class of coins was but little understood. Battely does not attempt even to

note the Saxon pieces, or to distinguish between them and the Frankish coins, but considered them all as coins of the ancient Gaulish kings; and, comparatively a short time since, both the early Saxon and the Merovingian coins were looked upon with disdain, and scarcely considered worthy of admission into the cabinets of numismatists. They were rejected as barbarous, and supposed to be beyond the hope of being read and explained. By this unwise and fatal prescription, numerous valuable monuments have been consigned to the melting-pot before better directed observation and science had taught that these miscalled "unintelligible" coins were, in fact, historical records, susceptible of being understood, and, at least as regards those of France, individually described. We have not yet been so successful with the Saxon *sceattas*; but our materials are still scanty, and it is probable that the day is not far distant when some of them will be read, and all will be better classified and comprehended. Until the last few years, it was considered by our most judicious numismatists, that no gold coins were minted by the Saxons; yet recent discoveries have brought to light unsuspected proofs that, in the seventh century, gold money was struck at London and at Canterbury. Monsieur De Longperier has discovered a gold *triens*, which bears on the obverse a diademed head, EVSEBII . MONITA. (*Eusebius Monetarius*); and, on the reverse, †DOROVERNIS . CIVITAS; in the centre, a cross.¹ And still more recently, Mr. Akerman has published² several, which, there is every reason to believe, were struck in this country, including one marked LONDVNI. These pieces bear a general resemblance to figs. 8 and 9 of our plate, while they differ in details. Like most of the French *trientes*, they are not inscribed

¹ Numismatic Journal, vol. ii, p. 232. ² Numismatic Chron. vol. vi, p. 171.

with the name of the reigning prince, but with that of a moneyer, and the place of mintage; unlike their French contemporaries, some of these presumed Saxon pieces have runes, which are occasionally found on the Saxon silver coins; and the specimen struck at London bears a full-faced bust, such as often appears on the *sceattas*, but seldom on the gold Merovingian coins; while other peculiarities, which the practised eye can easily detect, but which it would be difficult to explain without the aid of numerous cuts, will, there is every reason to believe, soon compel us to admit into our recognized ancient national currency, a series of coins of which, a very few years ago, not one specimen was known to exist.

Fig. 10 is a gold coin of the sixth or seventh century, the design on the reverse of which affords a curious instance of the degradation of the art of engraving coins in the course of about a century and a half, and the perversion of types by ignorant artists. It would be impossible to explain the meaning of the objects on the reverse of this coin without the key which imitation supplies. The symbolist might see mystic signs, under the veil of which lie concealed from the profane some great truths in philosophy or in theology; but the practical, matter-of-fact antiquary, who has observed, in a hundred instances, how one age copies another, and how ignorance distorts meaning into confusion, will perceive only an abortive effort to copy a very common design on the coins of Arcadius, Honorius, and others of that period,—viz., that of two human figures seated in a chair, and a Victory standing behind them. In our coins, the heads of the imperial figures, and that of the Victory, have become metamorphosed into the heads or skulls of beasts; the bodies have almost vanished; but the *nimbi* round the heads (very secondary objects in the original design) become

of the first importance in the copy, and almost fill the field of the coin. The universal proneness in artists to imitate, and the gross blunders made by those who were mere copyists, and bad ones too, of any design which may have struck their fancy, without the slightest feeling of propriety in adaptation, are facts which should never be lost sight of by the archæologist, as they will often solve many anomalies and incongruities inexplicable by any other process of reasoning.

The examples of the *sceattas* given in our plate, will be sufficient to convey to the general reader a notion of the money of the early Saxon settlers, but not sufficient to give the historical inquirer a full comprehension of the extent and variety of this class of ancient monuments. Obscure and perplexing, like all that relates to the dark period in which they were produced, these little coins are, notwithstanding, not wholly so barbarous and rude as to be unacceptable to the historian. Unlike the numismatic volume which illustrates so clearly consecutive events in the Roman epoch, they neither furnish direct chronological information, nor give us the names of those under whose rule they were issued; and they seem to afford no certain clue to the exact time when they first made their appearance. But still they are the tangible and unquestionable works of generations of our ancestors, who stand first in the page of English history; and if the evidence they yield be scanty, it is honest, and uncorrupted by fable or tradition; no panegyrist has falsified it, no Geoffrey of Monmouth has had power to engraft upon it his own inventions, and substitute errors for truth.

I have observed that it is doubtful at what precise time the *sceattas* were first struck. They vary very considerably in work-

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manship, as well as in type. One, in my own cabinet, found in London, bears a well-executed head, not unlike that of the third Constantine (one of whose coins has been figured in pl. VI), while its weight closely accords with that of the silver coins of that usurper, and with those of his time; neither does the weight of the generality of the *sceattas* differ much from that of the late Roman coins, which formed part of the great monetary circulating medium of the fifth century—the earliest possible date that could be suggested for any of the Saxon coins. The fact of this accordance in weight, shews that the Saxon settlers in Kent (for it is to them the origin of these coins must be attributed), must soon have felt the necessity of adopting, not only a monetary currency, which in their native country they had not yet introduced, but of establishing it upon the Roman system. It is most probable that Roman artists were employed, such as could have been easily found, if not in Britain, certainly in Gaul, where, in the sixth and seventh centuries, we find among the names of the moneyers, those of Romans and Romanized Gauls, almost as numerous as those of Franks.¹ It is probable that the designs upon the *sceattas* may serve to assist their classification. In the dragons, snakes, and monstrous animals, may be traced the influence of the myths of their native land. *Sceattas*² are mentioned in the laws of Ethel-

¹ An alphabetical list of the moneyers has been published by Monsieur E. Cartier, in the *Revue Numismatique*, année 1840. Many of the names are very analogous, and some are identical, with those of the Romano-Gaulish potters. (See p. 69, *ante*.)

² The *sceat* or *scæt*, and the *scylling*, appear to have been the names of the money in circulation among the Saxons, and the Teutonic nations in general, in pagan times. In *Beowulf*, in allusion to the general attribute of Teutonic kings, that of giving treasure to their subordinate chieftains, it is said of a celebrated sword (l. 3366):—

bert ; and one,¹ which bears affinity to others yet unappropriated, bears an inscription, which has been read as *Ethelbert rex*. After the coming of Augustine, others must be dated ; though it is very doubtful if the crosses upon them are to be interpreted as signifying the establishment of Christianity. The gold coins before referred to, seem less equivocal in that point of view ; and the specimen from the Canterbury mint may reasonably be referred to, from its similitude to the Frankish coins, as an immediate result of the advent of Augustine ; while others, which seem copied from the coins of Constantine Pogonatus (A.D. 668 to A.D. 685), still exhibit, on the reverse, fantastic animals, without any symbol peculiarly indicative of Christianity.

Fig. 6 of our plate is one of those *sceattas* which, on account of the cross and the bird (supposed the emblematic dove), has been considered of later date than some others ; but little reliance,

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| on ge-weald ge-hwearf | it came into the power of |
| worold-cyninga | the best |
| þæm sælestan | of powerful kings |
| be sæm tweonum, | between the two seas, |
| ðara ðe on Scedenigge | of those who in Scedenig |
| sceattas dælde. | distributed <i>sceattas</i> (treasure). |

In another passage of the same poem (l. 753), the word for presents is *gif-sceattas*. No doubt the chief circulation was in the smaller coin, or *sceattas* ; hence it was used as the general term for money, as we often use the word *pence*. It was thus used throughout the whole Anglo-Saxon period, of which many instances might be given. In the translation of the Psalms, the Latin *pretium meum* is rendered by *sceat min*. To pay your *sceat*, or, as we might say, to pay your penny, was to settle your reckoning ; and, singular enough, the pure Saxon phrase has been preserved in the language of country ale-houses, where every customer is expected to *pay his shot*. *Shot* is the modern form that the word *sceat* would take, if retained in the language.

¹ Ruding, pl. 3.

however, can be placed on such representations, at a period when Christianity had not yet rooted out the old pagan practices. Coins of this identical type have been found in a Saxon grave on Breach Down,¹ under circumstances which leave no doubt as to their having been buried under the influence of the same feelings and motives which induced the Romans to deposit money with their dead.

In taking a retrospective glance at the coins of Richborough and Reculver, who will not be struck at the picture they present of the early periods of the history of our country? They are the living witnesses of mighty facts, upon which hung the destinies of the world; the chroniclers of her fate, when imperial Rome gave laws to the circuit of the known globe, and when she sank beneath the weight of her own vast and licentious power; when from her ruins sprang into life kingdoms and empires, whose founders for ages had in vain disputed her proud supremacy. They show us Rome in her strength and glory, and Rome in her decadence, humiliation, and fall. In them we see tokens of the coming of the Franks and the Saxons,—not as heretofore, when we read of them only as pirates and wild marauders, but as conquerors, the lords and masters of Gaul and Britain, constructing the basis of the kingdoms of France and England, and laying the foundations of the laws and institutions under which we live and hold our rights and liberties. *Factum abiit, monumenta manent.*

From the numerous early Saxon coins, and other remains of the same period, as well as from the Roman architecture, which has been here shewn to have been still standing as part of the church at the commencement of the present century, the Roman castrum and its buildings appear to have passed quietly and peaceably into the possession of the Saxons; and Regulbium, by a slight muta-

¹ They have all been figured in pl. vi vol. i, of the *Collectanea Antiqua*.

tion of its name into Raculf and Raculf-ceastre, remained a place of considerable importance down to a late period of Saxon England.

The Saxon Chronicle mentions that, in 669, king Ecbyrht gave Raculf to Bassa, a mass-priest, to build a minster upon.

A.D. 679, Hlothari, king of Kent, granted land at Westney, in the Isle of Thanet, and twelve houses at Stury, to abbot Bercuald and his monastery. The charter is dated at Reculver, which is termed "*civitas*".¹

A.D. 747. There is extant, of this date, a charter of Eadberht, king of Kent, granting to the church at Raculfe, and to Deneheah and his monks, the toll and customs of one vessel at the port and town of Fordwich.²

A.D. 747, *circa*. A grant by Eardwulf, king of Kent, of land in *Berhamstede*, to the abbot Eadberht and his monks, living *in loco qui dicitur Raculf*.

A.D. 784. A grant by Ealhmund, king of Kent, of a piece of land called *Scildwic*, to abbot Westrede and his monks, living *in loco qui dicitur Raculfcestre*.

A.D. 811. Charter of archbishop Wulfred, giving lands in *Eosterege* (Eastry) to *Reacolvensæ ecclesiæ*.

A.D. 825. Another charter of archbishop Wulfred, restoring to the monasteries *æt suðmynstre 7 æt Ræculfo*, the possessions of which they had been deprived during the violence of the times.³

¹ "Actum in civitate Raculf in mense Maio in d. septima.—† Signum manus Hlothari regis donatoris."

² "Vectigal et tributum unius navis in portu ac villa quæ dicitur Forduic." This charter is marked by Mr. Kemble as of doubtful authenticity.

³ The charter contains a history of the transaction. It was made at the synod of Cloveshou, and is signed by abbot Cwoenthriþ, king Beornuulf, and sixty-two persons besides.

A.D. 949. Grant by king Eadred of *monasterium Raculfense cum tota villa* to the church of Canterbury.

This charter is of considerable local interest, for appended to it is an enumeration of the lands in the immediate neighbourhood of Reculver, and their boundaries, the names of which in many instances can be identified by their modern appellations. It is also of general historical importance, and particularly remarkable as being drawn up and written by Dunstan, then abbot of Glastonbury. By the kindness of our friend Mr. Charles Sandys, I am enabled to give a faithful transcript of this valuable document, taken from the original, in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury; and an English translation, which he has also supplied.

*Charter of Eadred, granting the monastery of Reculver to
Christ Church, Canterbury.*

Mutar itaque utroque p̄fensur m̄fct̄
humanar lucit̄or p̄audul̄ctur p̄tugulando

[delubit] nunc inquā p̄m̄j̄is quas p̄p̄ol̄x̄on̄is utæ p̄ad̄ur decipit
nunc p̄ebur m̄ḡrantibur p̄uicaciter q̄r̄i neceſſariur̄ iulicit. Intea
etiam p̄t̄igia inſep̄ni p̄up̄p̄licia tamq̄m leuia et t̄p̄aūſitoria p̄uggerit
quatinur̄ m̄ſep̄onum corda in cupiditate laſciuaque enep̄unt. diſ-

soluat. pecumque cabeata ab tartara ducat; Sed r̄cī uirū p̄rago
 r̄pū bertiales p̄coznoſcenter inſidias ſcutō bonæ uoluntatis copo-
 nati quicquid inſemetipſis terrenū ſentiunt. inderinent' atque
 nauiter opibz ſcis exhauriūt unde diſſcopuatis corā Xpō Ihū
 meſutis ſutilanter ſimillima Titanei fulgoris luce p̄ſentent'; De
 quorum p̄conio tuba r̄cæ ſerupturæ nebohanz inter alia testi-
 monia p̄penſius intelligenda n̄r̄ hęc gemina auribus reſultando
 p̄ſudit. Beati quorum ueſtimenta alba ſunt in conſpectu dñi;
 et alibi Iuſti fulgebunt ſicut ſol in regno patris eorum Huius
 ergo dominici conſpectus et paterni amoris regni p̄ſus unde nobis
 uictus perſtat ſine dubio ceptus de quo uictu dñs dixit beatus qui
 manducabit panem in regno Di [Ego Eadreb rex diuina gr̄acia
 totius] Albionis monarchus et p̄ſumiceſus. Xpō regi meo in
 throno regni penniſ p̄petualiter ſubthronizato: e conceſſis mihi
 ab eodem labilium ſazis perum [accepti t̄pocinu quarto mei ter-
 reſtus regni] anno ad templū ſuo incomphenſibili dedicatum
 N̄m̄. in urbe Dorobernia. Odone Archiepiſcopo metropoli-
 tanam cathedram p̄ſidente. et regni celeſtis ſup̄ arua britannica
 clauis p̄portante. monar̄tium ſaculſenſe bir̄denis ſenſique eſti-
 matum caſſatis. interius. exteriusque [cum] omnibus ad hoc nebus
 iute p̄tinentibus. ſiue litonum. ſiue camporum. agnorum ſal-
 tuumue. ſicut inſerius terputoria p̄mulgantur. humillime atque
 deuotissime ſincerio cor̄ide inſpetuum ius [quambiu] xpianitar
 uigeat p̄ meiſ abluendis exceſſibus indeterminabiliter impendo;
 Si quis autem q̄ abſit tyrannica ſuſtus poteſtate. neſalis æpi-
 copaliſ. ſiue homo alicuius dignitatſ hoc becretum a dō mihi
 conlatu[m] inſunſene temptauerit: ſiue huiuscæ donationis a
 p̄rata æccleſia uel paſſum pedis regneſauerit. n̄ prius hoc inor̄me
 ſcelus poenitendo deterſerit. ſe ſacrile[gi] culpam [incurſſe]

et a dño] Ihū Xpo inppetuum sine ullo subtractionis necessitate dampnaturum prentiat.

[Hæc enim ringrapha] anno dominicæ incarnationis. DCCCCLXIX. orthodoxor[um] scripta est una]nimo consensu ipsorum quorum inferius nina literaria qualitate distingui vidēt'.

[Ego E]adneb rex diuina protegente gracia Albionis summam priden[ti]s ag[er]is crucis hanc capitula[m] n[on] otamine p[er]tinxi.✠

Ego Odo archiepiscopus metropolitana priden[ti]s gubernamina hoc donum regia concessum munificentia signo crucis fixi.✠

Ego Wulfstan archiepiscopus metropolitici honoris partitio Ebora-
cen[si] ciuitate suffultus huic largitati crucem asserui.✠

Ego Ælfheah episcopus uintonien[si]s ecclesiæ. hoc donum signo
crucis confirmavi.✠

Ego Æthelgar episcopus eboracen[si]s ecclesiæ p[ro]ul hanc largitatem
confirmo.✠

Ego Ælfric episcopus huius donationis conscriptator signum crucis
depinxit.✠

Ego Wulfge episcopus huius largiflui muneris domini signo salubri
adnotauit.✠

Ego Theobald episcopus p[ro]p[ri]am hanc inpenionē patribus confir-
matu addidit.✠

Ego Ælfric episcopus hoc Dō in[te]ligante bonū crucis Xpi conscrip-
tatu munui.✠

Ego Beornh[ar]d episcopus huiusmodi donationis confirmationem
contulit.✠

Ego Coenuald episcopus consensum adibui.✠

Ego Cynesige episcopus unanimiter p[ro]bui.✠

Ego uulphelm episcopus p[er]missionē p[ro]bui.✠

Ego Eadhelm abbas deuotus in hoc p[ar]ticipat.✠

Ego Orulf: dux conſenſi et humilit' aſſenti.✠

Ego Eadmund dux libenſ conſilio aderam.✠

Ego Ethelſtan dux prompto animo conſenſi.✠

Ego Eadgifu regis genetrux prati animo hanc pratham letabundo in Xpo largitionem ob optabilem remunerationē conceſſam ſigni corroboratione ſalutiſeſu humillime conſignau.✠

Ego dunſcan indigmyrabbay rege
eadnebo ~~ante hanc~~

Ego Dunſtan indignus abbay rege Eadnebo impante hanc domino meo hæreditariam karſulam [dictitando compoſui et propriis digitorum articulis preſcripi].

✠ Hiſ inquam limitibus hec tellurus particula circūſcripta uidetur.

Æſt. on norð healfe. 7 on peſðan of ýfingra [] ſpa forð beſande oð norðmuðan frō norðmuðan to Macanbroce þonan to ærnepege. Of ærnepege to Eanflæbe muðan of Eanflæbe muðan on Meapeleotesmuðan of Meapeleotesmuðan eft on Eapleðmuðan. ðonne on eaſt healfe to mýlenpleoteſ muðan oð Suðtun of Suðtune andlang broces to hæðemæpinge ðoñ on Suðhealfe of hæðemæpinge to ſtoccū of ſtoccū andlang ſtæte oð ſe[e] Aſurtineſ mearce frōm ſce Aſurtineſ mearce oð broc andlang broces oð ſtanbrýcge ſuð frō ſtanbrýcge oð pipelinge to Cpurteſ cūcean gemeape [frōm Cpurteſ cūcan gemeape] oð ealben hege on peſt healf of healben hege to ſeaxū. ðon peſt frōm ſeaxū to celban to Cingerſmæpe frōm cingerſgemæpe oð [zata] gehægge. peſðe peapð. þanan on ýfingra ho 7 ppantenſæ þonne ſienðan

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feoper ƿulung binnan ðea ær landes ðe gebýneð innto Raculfe on tenet. an. ƿulung 7 an læf on ƿapuðe gebýneð into Raculfe. ðonne iƿ ealles ðæs landes xxv ƿulunga. 7 an ƿulung on Ce[olul] ƿingstune ƿuð be ƿealba þaƿe cƿucan to bote.

The preceding copy of this interesting Charter is taken from the original in the archives at Canterbury, where it is marked on the back as "Raclf, 1. Rex Eadred⁹ dedit monast'iu de Raculf ad ecclia Xpi. Scs Odo. R. 61." Another original is preserved in the British Museum, MS. (*Cotton, Aug. ii, art. 57*); and, as the Saxon description of the boundaries has some considerable variation, I have thought it advisable to give it here entire.¹

Æƿeƿt on noƿð healfe æðelfeƿðeƿ londe ƿƿa ƿoƿ beðƿanbe oƿ noƿð muþan ƿrom noƿð muþan to macan broce ðonne to ærne ƿeƿe oƿ ærne ƿeƿe to eanflæbe muþan oƿ eanflæbe muþan on meapc fleoteƿ muþan oƿ meapc fleoteƿ muþan eƿt on eanflæbe muðan ðonne on eaƿt healfe to mýlen fleoteƿ muðan oð suðtun oƿ ƿuðtune andlanƿ broceƿ to hæðe mæƿunge ðonne on ƿuð healfe oƿ hæðe mæƿunge to ƿtoccum. oƿ ƿtoccum andlonƿ ƿƿæte oð ƿcē aƿuƿtineƿ meapc ƿƿō scē aƿuƿtineƿ meapc. oð bƿōc andlanƿ broceƿ oð ƿtan bƿýcƿe ƿuð ƿrom ƿtan bƿýcƿe oð ƿƿelinge to cƿuƿteƿ cƿucan ƿemæƿe ƿƿō cƿuƿteƿ cƿucan ƿemæƿe oð ealben heƿe on ƿeƿt healfe ealban heƿe to ƿeaxum. ðonne ƿeƿt ƿrom ƿeaxū to celban to cingeƿ ƿemæƿe ƿrom cingeƿ ƿemæƿe oð ƿata ƿehæƿƿe. ðonne ƿriendan feoper ƿƿulung binnan ea ðæs londeƿ þe gebýneð innto ƿaculfe. On tænet. feoper ƿƿulung onð an læf on ƿapuðe gebýneð innto ƿaculfe. ðonne iƿ ealles þæs landes xxv. ƿƿul'ƿa 7 an ƿƿulung on ceolulƿing tune ƿuð be ƿealba þaƿe cƿucan to bote.

¹ The words between brackets in the foregoing Charter are supplied from this manuscript, the Canterbury manuscript being much obliterated in parts.

TRANSLATION.

✠ FORASMUCH as *the Deceiver*, by his fraudulent juggling, beguiles human souls by many wicked delusions ; sometimes, I say, he deceives by delusive promises of a long course of a prosperous life ; sometimes, as if he were a particular friend, he perseveringly allures with the transitory things of this world. In the meantime, he represents even the infernal torments of Hell as if they were light and transitory, to the end he may destroy the hearts of miserable men plunged in concupiscence and lust, and may drag them with him to the darkest caverns of Hell. But holy men, by a Divine Spirit forewarned of those abominable snares, and armed with the Shield of Faith, incessantly and strenuously root out, by spiritual works, whatever earthly things they perceive in themselves, that they may be presented before Christ Jesus shining like the light of the Sun in their manifest merits. Of whose praise the resounding trumpet of the Holy Gospel (among other testimonies more readily understood) hath uttered these words, echoing in both our ears : “ Blessed are they whose garments are white in the sight of the Lord.” And again : “ The righteous shall shine as the Sun in the kingdom of their Father.” Of this Divine Presence, therefore, and also of food (that our food may remain certain without any doubt) our Lord and Father, filled with the love of the kingdom, hath said : “ Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the kingdom of God.” I *Eadred*, King, by Divine Grace, Monarch of all Albion, and Steward to Christ my King (eternally sitting upon the Throne of the everlasting kingdom) even for the wealth of the perishable things granted to me by Him, in the fourth year of my first calling to my earthly kingdom, most humbly and devoutly, with a sincere heart for the absolution of my sins, for ever grant in perpetuity, as long as Christianity shall flourish, to his Temple,

dedicated to the incomprehensible God, in the city of Canterbury (Odo the Archbishop presiding in the metropolitan chair, and bearing throughout Britain the keys of the Heavenly Kingdom), *the Monastery of Reculver*, with twenty-five carucates of land (by estimation) within and without, with all things thereto lawfully belonging, whether land lying on the sea-shore, meadows, arable-land, or woodland, as the same territories are hereunder specified. *And if any man (which God forbid), puffed up with tyrannical authority, whether King, Bishop, or of any other dignity, shall attempt to infringe this grant (by God bestowed upon me), or shall appropriate a single foot of this donation from the aforesaid Church, unless he shall first expiate by repentance this enormous crime, he shall incur the guilt of sacrilege, and shall be damned for ever by our Lord Jesus Christ, without any hope of Redemption.*

This grant is written in the year of our Lord's Incarnation DCCCCLXIX, with the unanimous consent of the Faithful, whose names and quality are below set forth.

✠ I *Eadred*, King, by the protection of the Divine Grace, chief ruler of Albion, have confirmed this Charter with the sign of the holy Cross.

✠ I *Odo*, Archbishop, presiding with metropolitan jurisdiction, this Gift, by royal munificence granted, have established with the sign of the Cross.

✠ I *Wulfstan*, Archbishop, elevated to the rank of metropolitanical honour in the city of York, have to this Bounty affixed the Cross.

✠ I *Aelfhean*, Bishop of the Church of Winchester, have confirmed this Grant with the sign of the Cross.

✠ I *Aethelgar* [Præsul] of the Church of Crediton, have corroborated this Grant.

✠ I *Aelfric*, Bishop [Constipulator¹] of this Grant, have made the sign of the Cross.

¹ There is no English word to express this, which alludes to an ancient custom, known at this day as 'Livery of Seisin' (or delivery of possession). "Veteres quando sibi aliquid promittebant, *stipulam* tenentes frangebant, quam iterum jungentes et metientes, sponsionem agnoscebant. Vel quodd *stipula*

✠ I *Wulsige*, Bishop, this bountiful Grant have marked with the sign of Salvation.

✠ I *Theodred*, Bishop, this liberal Gift have confirmed with the addition of the Cross.

✠ I *Aelfred*, Bishop, at the instigation of God, have strengthened this Gift [constipulatu] with the sign of the Cross of Christ.

✠ I *Berhtsige*, Bishop, have corroborated this Gift.

✠ I *Coenwald*, Bishop, have added my consent.

✠ I *Cynesige*, Bishop, have afforded my assent.

✠ I *Wishelm*, Bishop, have approved.

✠ I *Eadhelm*, Abbat, have hereto devoutly attended.

✠ I *Osulf*, Duke, have consented, and humbly assisted.

✠ I *Edmund*, Duke, have cheerfully advised.

✠ I *Athelstan*, Duke, have consented with a willing mind.

✠ I *Eadgive*, mother of the aforesaid King, with a mind rejoicing in Christ, have humbly signed this before-mentioned Gift, granted in the hope of Redemption, with the corroboration of the sign of Salvation.

✠ I *Dunstan*, unworthy Abbat, at the command of Eadred the King, have composed this Charter of Inheritance, my Lord the King dictating, and have written it throughout with my own hand.

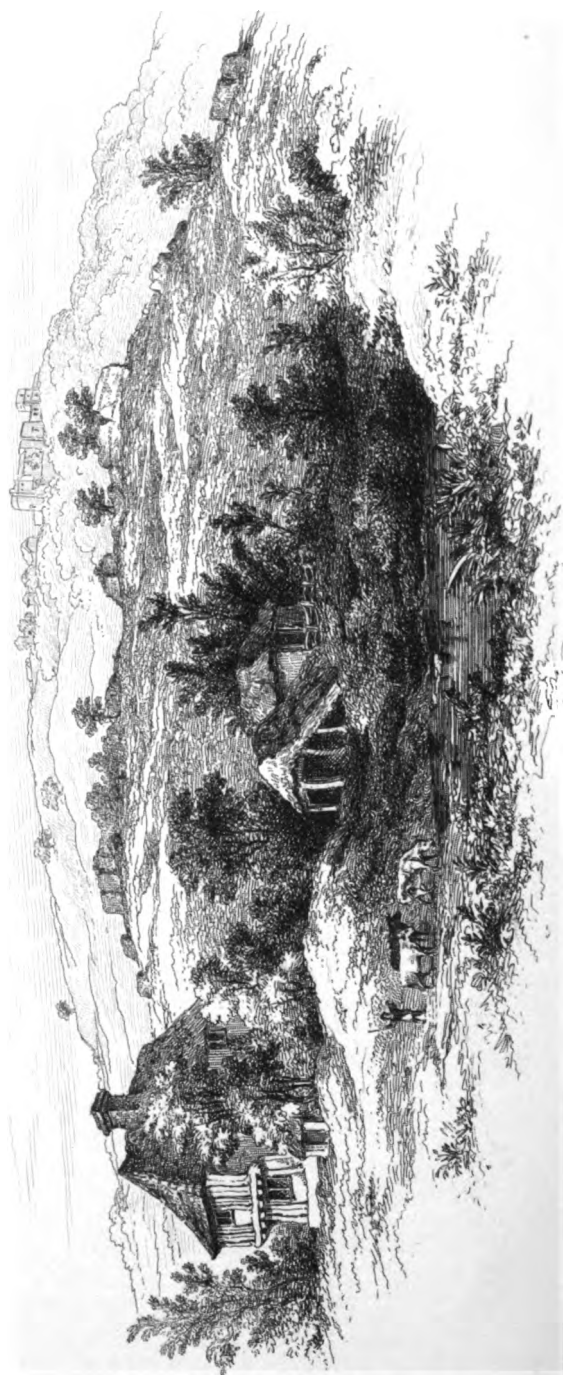
By these Limits, I say, this parcel of Land is seen to be bounded :—

“ First. On the North side and on the Western from Yfing . . . so on by the shore to North-mouth, from North-mouth to Macan-brook, thence to the Old Way, from the Old Way to Eanflæde-mouth, from Eanflæde-mouth to Mearefleotes-mouth, from Mearefleotes-mouth again to Eanflæde-mouth. Then, on the East side, to Mylenfleotes-mouth to South Town, from South Town along the Brook to Hæthmæringe. Then, on the South side from Hæthmæringe

porrectâ, tanquam signo ad pollicendum adducerent, quam *stipulam* accipere, erat argumentum assentientis, scil. quodd contractibus agrariis *stipula* ista agrum integrum repræsentaret.”

to Stoke, from Stoke along the street to St. Augustine's Mark, from St. Augustine's Mark to the Brook, along the Brook to Stone Bridge, South from Stone Bridge to Wifling to Christ Church Mark, from Christ Church Mark to the Old Hedge. On the West side, from the Old Hedge to Feaxum, then West from Feaxum to Celdan to King's Meare, from King's Meare to the Gate of the Hedge, Westward, thence to Yfing Hoo and Swantensea. There are four Sulings within the Water of the Land, which belong to Reculver. In Thanet one Suling and one Pasture on the Shore belong to Reculver. There is in all of these Lands xxv Sulings, and one Suling in Ceolulfing Town South, by the Wood, assigne^d to the reparation of the Church."

LYMNE.



Drum, England, 1811.

LYMRE.

LYMNE.

THE Roman castrum at Lymne, commonly called Stutfall, or Studfall Castle, is situated in a part of the county of Kent, which, lying out of leading thoroughfares, is comparatively but little known. The facilities of access to the neighbourhood of Reculver and Richborough have given a more popular interest to those ancient sites, while the secluded position of Lymne has contributed to render the extensive remains, which identify its place in the ancient geography of this country, almost unknown except to the professed topographer and antiquary. Nowhere are the changes which a combination of circumstances has wrought, in diverting lines of traffic and intercourse, more striking than in this now comparatively forsaken district. During the Roman domination the *Portus Lemanis* was one of the great keys to Britain, sharing, with Rutupiaë and Dubris, in commercial importance as the medium of communication with Gaul. The port or haven was connected by roads with the military stations on the sea coast to the east and west, and also with London, by a direct road through Canterbury, securing for it the most expeditious communication with the capital of the province. The fourth iter of Antoninus, which points direct from Londinium to the Portus Lemanis, reveals the character and importance of this ocean fortress; its eligibility,

at certain seasons, for navigation, and the various purposes of commerce and warfare; its lone aspect at the present day, its isolation from highway and byeway, impressively remind us of those great epochs in the history of our country, from which we must gather the explanation of the contrast. Nothing is more calculated to direct the mind to take a full and sound review of the revolutions to which, in early times, the land we live in was subjected, than the contemplation of monuments of this description. Who that has not walked a day's walk upon a Roman road,—for instance, on the Stone Street, as it is called, leading from Canterbury to Lymne,—can form any notion of the mode by which rapid communication through extensive provinces was effected and maintained? Who that has not actually examined the remains of the walled towns and military fortresses of the Romans, can understand their admirable system of castrametation, by which their conquests were so long secured? These are among the primary branches of archæological research to which attention is naturally suggested in entering upon a description of the vestiges of such a place as the Portus Lemanis.

The historical sources from which we glean the slight notices which enable us to identify the immediate neighbourhood of Studfall Castle as the Portus Lemanis, are, Ptolemy the geographer; the Itineraries of Antoninus and Richard of Cirencester; the *Notitia*; the geographer of Ravenna; and the Peutingerian Tables.

Ptolemy, in his list of places in the territories of the Cantii, mentions *χαῖνος λιμην*, which, whether we join with Camden, Burton, and Somner, in thinking that the epithet *χαῖνος* forms no part of the ancient name, or accept it as applied to distinguish the

haven as a port, in or about the time of Ptolemy, adopted by the Romans in the sense of *novus portus*,—must refer to the locality lying below the present village of Lymne, and immediately adjacent to the Roman castrum popularly known as Stutfall Castle, which may have been adopted by the Romans at some period subsequent to their appropriation of other ports on the Cantian coast. It is a question, however, whether the word may not have been λιμνη, a marshy, fenny district, or lake, more strikingly expressive of the characteristic features of the low land ; but as it now stands in Ptolemy, the χαινος is clearly intended to distinguish this port from the μεγας λιμνη, now Portchester.

In the Itinerary of Antoninus (the fourth route) Lymne is thus mentioned :

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| A LONDINIO AD POR- | | From London to the haven |
| TVM LEMANIS | M.P.LXVIII. | at Lymne, 68 miles. |
| [A LONDINIO | | From London.] |
| DVROBRIVIS | M.P.XXVII. | Rochester. |
| DVROVERNO | M.P.XXV. | Canterbury. |
| AD PORTVM LEMANIS. | M.P.XVI. | Lymne. |

The road leading from Durovernum is still well defined for ten or twelve miles, and is known as Stone Street. It runs in a straight and direct line from Canterbury towards Lymne ; but at the foot of the hill, from whose summit it points towards Lymne, it breaks suddenly off, but its course may still be traced, almost up to the site of the ancient port.

In the fifteenth iter of Richard of Cirencester (given in page 17), Lymne is approached from the west by way of Regnum (Chichester) and Anderida (Pevensey). The station, or resting place, next to Pevensey is written *ad Lemanum*, at the distance from the haven

of Anderida of twenty-five miles, and to the haven of Lymne, or, as written, the *Lemanian Port*, ten miles.

There has been, at various times, no little discussion as to where the river Lymne ran, and some writers have considered that it once flowed westward up to the foot of the present Lymne, emptying itself there into the sea, but that, from natural causes, its bed has been filled up and its course diverted. It is needless to quote a variety of opinions merely to refute them, when a solution to the apparent difficulty appears to arise out of the simple collation of the ancient texts with existing facts. The river Lymne of Richard of Cirencester is evidently the Limine of the Saxon Chronicle,¹ there described as in east Kent, at the end of the great wood called Andrede Weald, and more explicitly located by its being connected with Appledore.² Somner³ identifies this river with the Rother, but errs in placing the Roman Portus Lemanis at Romney, where the Rother, it appears, once emptied itself into the sea. This explicit mention of the river Lemanis and of the port Lemanis, the

¹ A.D. 893.—“This year went the large army (the Danes), that we before spoke about, back from the eastern district westward to Boulogne, and there were shipped; so that they transported themselves over at one time, with their horses withal. And they came up with 250 ships into the mouth of the Limne, which is in East Kent, at the end of the vast wood that we call Andred. This wood is in length, east and west, 120 miles or longer, and 30 miles broad. The river that we before spoke about lieth out of the weald. On this river they towed up their ships as far as the weald, four miles from the mouth outwards; and there destroyed a fort within the fen, whereon sat a few churls, and which was hastily wrought.”

² A.D. 894.—“Hasten was there with his gang, who before were stationed at Milton, and also the main army had come thither (to Bamfleet), that sat before in the mouth of the Limne at Appledore.”—*Ingram's Translation*, London, 1823.

³ Roman Ports and Forts in Kent, p. 43.

one ten miles distant from the other, is important, and particularly so in connexion with the mention of the river Limne, in the Saxon Chronicle, its association with Appledore, and its identity with the Rother. The river is also mentioned in charters of the eighth and ninth centuries, and is clearly to be recognized by the names of neighbouring places which are still preserved, as the *Lemanis* of the itinerary of Richard.¹ The reference to Lymne in the *Notitia* has already been given under the head of Richborough (p.22). *Tornacum*, or *Turnacum*, from whence was drawn the *numerus* of soldiers which, in the latter Roman times, garrisoned the *Portus Lemanis*, was a town of Belgic Gaul, now well known as Tournay.

The geographer of Ravenna mentions both the station *Lemanis* and the river *Lemana*. In the fragment of the Peutingerian Table relating to Britain, *Lemanis*, *Dubris*, and *Rutupiæ*, are preserved on the line of the sea-coast in their proper position, and marked as places of importance. The compilation of the Ravenna list may be referred to some period not later than the seventh century. It is perhaps worthy of note, in relation to the river *Lemana* which occurs in that work, that the river which follows on the list is *Rovia*, which Horsley interprets as the Rother, a more modern term for the *Lemana* or *Lemanis*, but which does not occur either in the Saxon Chronicle or in the Saxon charters, in all of which the river *Limene* alone is spoken of.

The following are extracts from charters relating to this river, and to *Limingae* or *Liminae*, which, it would seem, must be considered as implying, in a general signification, the district from the present Lymne to the river *Limene*.

July, 700 or 715. Wihtred, king of Kent, gave lands to the south of the river called *Limenaea*, to the church at Lymne, *basi-*

licæ beatæ Mariæ genetricis Dei, quæ sita est in loco qui dicitur Limingae.

July 11, 724. Ethelbert, king of Kent, gave land *circa flumen Limenæe, quam dudum possiderant qui in Leccaham pro tempore habitabant*, and in loco qui dicitur *Hammespot*, to the holy abbess Milthretha and her nuns. It does not say of what religious house. Mr. Kemble marks this as of doubtful authenticity.

Feb. 20, 732. Ethelbert, king of Kent, gave to the abbot Dun (it does not say of what house), *terrula quædam, id est quarta pars aratri unius, juxta Liminæe salî coquendo accommoda*. He gives also an annual allowance of wood *ad coquendum sal*, and adds, *item dedi ei centum jugera ejusdem ruris in loco qui dicitur Sandtun. Termini vero terri illius hæc sunt, ab oriente, terra regis; ab austro, fluvius qui dicitur Limenæe; ab occidente et in septentrione, Hudanfleot.*

740. Ethelberht, king of Kent, gave: "Capturam piscium quod est in ostio fluminis cujus nomen est Liminaea, et partem agri in qua situm est oratorium Sancti Martini, cum ædibus piscatorum, et extra eam quartam partem aratri circa eundem locum et alteram partem juris mei ad pascendum cl. jumentorum juxta marisco qui dicitur Biscopes-uuc usque ad silbam qui appellatur Ripp, et ad terminos Suthsaxonîæ, sicut olim habuit Romanus presbyter,—to the church at Lymæ, *ad ecclesiam beatissimi virginis Mariæ quod est in Liminlaeae*. This transaction took place at Liminlaeae.

832. A will of Werhard, the presbyter, by which he gives all his lands, etc., in Kent to Christ's Church, Canterbury; among them are: "Unum jugum quod jacet in australi parte Limene, et ab incolis nominatur Lambaham, pertinet autem ad Burnan, et reddit xl. pensas casei et agnos et lanam absque casco, aliud

jugum apud Northuuda, et reddere debet cxx. mensuras quas Angli dicunt *ambres* de sale, marascos omnes in australi parte Limene et in aquilone cum præfatis terris devote reddo."

833. King Ecgberht confirmed the gift of Ethelbert in 732. It is described as: "Aliquantulam partem terræ juris mei, id est centum quinquaginta jugera, libenter donans impendo ad æcclesiam beatæ genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi et Dunne abbati suisque sociis in loco qui dicitur Sandtun, et in eodem loco sali coquenda juxta Limenae, et in silva ubi dicitur Andred, centum viginti plaustra ad coquendum sal." (i. e. 120 loads of wood to burn). The limits are in the former grant.¹

Some of the localities mentioned in these grants can be identified. In that of Ethelberht, A.D. 740, the places seem to indicate Romney, as the *Limen*-mouth, the *Ripe*, *Bishopswick*, St. Martin's Oratory, and the fishermen's cottages; while research into ancient documents would doubtless lead to the appropriation of others. The investigation would be of considerable local interest; but I can scarcely conceive that any result arising from such research would disturb the conclusion which seems unavoidable, from the itinerary of Richard of Cirencester, which places the river Lemanis ten miles to the west of the port, and the statements in the Saxon Chronicle.²

Before proceeding to give the result of our recent researches on

¹ These references are taken from Mr. Kemble's valuable work, the *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*.

² Mr. Holloway, in his *History of Romney Marsh*, considers that the river Limen had two mouths, the one between Romney and Lyd, the other at West Hythe, near the castrum at Lymne. Others are of the same opinion. Mr. James Elliott, the engineer of the Dymchurch sea-wall, doubts the existence of any river running eastward and emptying itself at Lymne or West Hythe.

the site of the castrum, it may not be uninteresting to cite some of the accounts of it in by-gone times. Leland, the earliest writer, states as follows :—

“Lymne Hille, or Lyme, was sumtyme a famose haven, and good for shypes that myght cum to the foote of the hille. The place is yet cawled Shypwey and old haven. Farther at this day the lord of the v portes kepeth his principal cownt a lytle by est fro Lymmehil. Ther remayneth at this day the ruines of a stronge fortresse of the Britons hanging on the hil, and cummyng down to the very fote. The cumpase of the fortresse semeth to be a x acres, and be lykelyhod yt had sum walle beside that strecchid up to the very top of the hille, wher now ys the paroch chirche, and the archidiacons howse of Cantorbury. The old walles of a¹ the made of Britons brikes, very large and great flynt, set togyther almost indissolubely with mortars made of smaule pybble. The walles be very thikke, and yn the west end of the castel appereth the base of an old towre. Abowt this castel, yn tyme of mind, were fownd antiquities of mony of the Romaynes. Ther as the chirch is now, was sumtyme withowt fayle an abbay. The graves yet appere yn the chirch, and of the lodging of the abbay be now converted ynto the archidiacons howse, the wich ys made lyke a castelet embatelyd. Ther went fro Lymme to Cantorbury a streate fayr paved, therof at this daye yt is cawled Stony Streat. Yt is the straytest that ever I sawe, and toward Cantorbury ward the pavement continually appereth a iiij or v myles. Ther cummeth at this day through Lymme castel a little rylle, and other prety waters resort to the places abowt Lymmehil, but where the ryver Limene should be I can not tel, except yt should be that that cummeth above Appledor.....iii ..myles of, and that of cows ys now chaunged, and renneth a nerer way ynto the se by the encresing of Romney Marsch that was sumtyme al se.”²

Dr. Stukeley, to whom, with all his errors, we are indebted for a vast amount of useful antiquarian information collected from personal observation, visited Lymne in 1722. “As soon as I came to Limne church,” he remarks, “looking from the brow of the

¹ Sic.

² Leland's Itinerary, by Hearne, vol. vii, p. 132; 8vo., 2nd edition, Oxford, 1744.

hill to the subjacent marshes, I descried the tattered Roman walls, situate on this southern decline, almost at the bottom. This fine remnant of Roman work, and which was the garrison of the Turnacensian band, hangs as it were upon the side of the hill ; for it is pretty steep in descent : the walls include about twelve acres of ground, in form somewhat squarish, without any ditch ; a pretty brook, arising from the rock west of the church, runs for some space on the east side of the wall, then passes through it, and so along its lowermost edge by the farm-house at bottom. The composition of the wall is similar to that of Richborough ; but instead of hewn stone, and regular courses, as there, the interval between the three layers of Roman brick is made of rag-stone : the brick, too, is of the same whitish kind, but remarkably thin. I suppose the clay shrank much in burning. This interval of stone is four feet of Roman standard : the walls are twelve foot thick, and have some round holes at equal spaces, that run quite through, as we observed at *Sorbiodunum* and *Verolanium* ; perhaps to let the air in for drying the wall, being of so great a thickness. Here are several of the circular or rather elliptic buttments, as thick as the wall, like those at the castle of *Garionenum*, near Yarmouth in Norfolk. It is a piece of masonry, I must own, unaccountable to me : they are like round towers or bastions, but solid ; and some scarce join to the walls at the sides, but go quite through to the inside. The circuit of this wall is manifest enough on three sides, but that southward is levelled to the ground : everywhere else, where not standing, it lies sideways, flat, close by, or in prodigious parcels ; or where standing, cracked through the whole solid thickness, as if Time was in a merry humour, and ruined it in sport : but I believe it is the effect of design and much labour,

as I said of Richborough : probably the Saxons or Danes thus dismantled it, to render it useless against their incursions. Where this wall is standing, it is ten foot high or more, made with excellent cement : on the eastern side is such another gate, formed by the return of the wall, as at the place last mentioned. George Hunt, an old man, living in the farm-house, told me he has found coins here : he says, once the sea-bank broke, and his house, with all the adjacent marches, was floated : for the level of the ocean is higher than this place ; but it has fenced itself out by raising the ground continually near the shore, as it does in other like marshes.”¹

The above extracts are more curious perhaps than valuable, except as shewing that, in the times of Leland and of Stukeley, the castrum presented much the same appearance as at the present day, before the accumulated soil was excavated and the buried walls laid open to their base.

The situation of the castrum is one of singular interest. It is on the lower part of a large tract of ground, of considerable acclivity, which separates the Romney marshes from the mainland, and forms a strong contrast, in its irregular and wild character, with the flat and monotonous district intervening between it and the sea. Looking upwards from the level land in front of the castrum, from which the view in our plate was sketched, portions of the walls are seen, irregular and disconnected, bounded on the right by a hanging wood, and a winding road called the Shipway; leading by the little village of West Hythe ; on the left, by a long range of broken sloping pasture ground ; and in front, by an inland cliff, crowned by the church of Lymne, and a castellated

¹ *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 132.

mansion, situated upon the very verge of the cliff. The scene is one of great picturesque beauty. Apart from the antiquarian interest attached to the spot, the natural attractions are varied and impressive; but these are heightened by the wildness and vastness of the ruins of the walls of the fortress, and the feelings of surprise at finding them in a place apparently so unsuitable for such a structure. Viewed from the high ground at Lymne, the castrum is still more undefinable; the upper or northern parts of the walls are discerned in huge masses, surrounded by underwood and trees, affording no possible indications of the original arrangement of the ground-plan. The area is uneven, and intersected by hedges; so that from no one point can a fair notion be formed of the line of circumvallation. From the marshes at a distance, the entire remains can be best discerned in one view; and it is necessary, indeed, from the peculiarities of the site, that the ruins be seen from the marshes, a mile or so distant, to form a proper idea of the position of the castrum, and its relation to the haven in former times. From the high ground at the village of Lymne, the spectator can gain a solution to the causes which, through a long course of years, have contributed to change the face of the locality, and invest it with new features. The Romney marshes have long engaged the attention of the geologist and of the antiquary in various parts of this wide extent. In some places the recession of the sea, in comparatively modern times, has left large tracts of sandy, sterile land, not yet covered with herbage, and contrasting with the rich alluvial soil which renders this extensive level so valuable to the grazier and agriculturist. The complete diversion of the ancient bed of the river Limene into a new channel, the alteration of the courses of other rivers and streams to

the west, and the disappearance of the haven called the Portus Lemanis, are among the revolutions to which this district has been subjected. The last of these is the subject which falls more especially within our present inquiry, and should be discussed where, indeed, it is obvious such questions can only be properly solved, on the spot itself. That the haven existed in the time of the Romans cannot be doubted; historical records prove it. The construction of the fortress itself, strongly fortified towards the land sides, but open, as at Richborough, towards the sea; the accordance of distance in the ancient Itineraries; and the Roman road yet traceable,—combine to leave no room for conjecture as to the locality. As to the remaining evidence to complete the explanation, it appears at hand, and seems to be equally conclusive and satisfactory. From the elevation immediately above the castrum, the naked eye may yet trace out, as upon a map, the demarcation of the bay or estuary which, at no very remote time, occupied, as far as Hythe to the east, what is now dry land. It is clearly to be distinguished as land newly regained from the sea; the sea-sand is almost superficial, and is as distinctly to be recognized from a distance as it may be demonstrated by close inspection. The level ground, almost up to the foot of the castrum, is in fact almost entirely sea-sand; but to the west the soil is alluvial, and could not possibly have been subjected to the action of the ocean. Here then was an estuary at no very distant period of time,—the Portus Lemanis. There would be, at the present day, Mr. Elliott states, at least seven feet depth of water at the foot of the castrum, at high tides, were the great sea-wall, which is maintained at much labour and expense, broken down.

As just observed, the eye alone is a guide to the limits of the

estuary. In travelling over the marshes from West Hythe towards Dymchurch, a marked difference is soon perceived in the character of the soil ; the sand ceases, and rich pastures and meadows stretch out for at least twenty miles towards Rye and Fairlight Cliff. This land is of old formation. In the time of the Romans, and during the existence of the *Portus Lemanis*, it appears to have been, at least in certain parts, well populated. To Mr. Elliott we are indebted for the record of some important discoveries made at Dymchurch, which throw an unexpected light on the state of that district in ancient times, and prove that the sea has gained upon the land at least half-a-mile during the last fifteen hundred years. About six years since, the encroachments of the sea towards the west of Dymchurch having rendered it necessary to alter the direction of the sea-wall, Mr. Elliott, who was employed in the superintendence of the work, directed a new line to be formed inland, at a distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from the old barrier. For the purpose of constructing the earthworks, a large quantity of soil was taken from the adjoining meadows. In the course of these operations, at about two feet from the surface, extensive layers of fragmentary pottery were laid open, mixed with *scoriæ*, portions of querns or handmills, whetstones, broken tiles, animal bones, and a few coins. Subsequent excavations have proved that these strata of broken pottery extend westward from Dymchurch, at least a mile, parallel with the sea-wall, and to a considerable distance inland. They occur at intervals, and present the appearance of having been formed by filling up with the refuse of the kilns the cuttings made to procure clay for manufacturing pottery. The beds of these ancient trenches are to be traced from high to low-water mark, thus proving that a certain extent of

land, which, fifteen hundred years since, was inhabited, is now submerged ; and indicating that the sea-boundary of this coast, at the period to which these remains point, was probably at least half-a-mile seaward beyond its bounds at the present day.

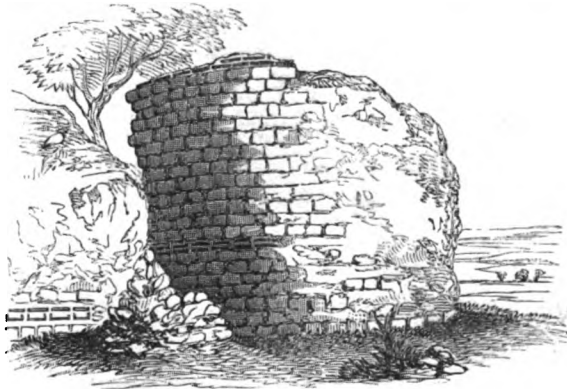
The site and character of the layers of broken pottery are analogous to those at Upchurch. At the latter place, however, the sea has partially inundated the marshes, and thus exposed the remains in greater abundance ; while at Dymchurch, the more violent action of the open sea and the beach, have swept away, or covered over, the greater part of the beds of the trenches, so that they can only be recognized by the shifting of the beach at particular seasons. Another important fact is disclosed in connexion with the state of this district in the time of the Romans, and indicative of its occupation probably throughout the period of their settlement in Britain. At various spots sepulchral interments have been discovered ; and even at the present low-water mark Mr. Elliott has recently taken up an urn filled with calcined human bones.¹

Until the recent excavations it was very difficult to form even an approximate notion of the original form of the castrum at Lymne. The upper or northern wall, which is the best preserved, stands at a considerable distance, about fifty yards, from the lateral ones, which appeared in places as being double. This space of fifty yards is open,

¹ An account of Mr. Elliott's first discoveries is published in Mr. Dunkin's *Report of the Proceedings of the British Archaeological Association, at the first General Meeting held at Canterbury in 1844*. In Holloway's *History of Romney Marsh* (London, 1849), a work containing much useful information, the discoveries made at Dymchurch have not been noticed. They would, at least, modify the opinion the author has expressed as to the general state of the marsh in the time of the Romans.

and free from ruins, except immediately beneath the northern wall, where there is an accumulation of fallen, broken masonry, partly covered with brushwood, and two lines of wall formed from the north wall, which, to the extent of twenty yards, has fallen inwards, and, by the shock, has again broken and precipitated the upper part eight yards further into the area, so as to form a second inner line, giving, at first view, the appearance of two inner walls.

The side walls then take an irregular diagonal direction, east and west. The eastern line of wall, with the exception of a fragment of about twenty yards in length, has been so shattered that its original course could not be determined; it was buried amidst high mounds of ruins, beyond which is a dell, in which, for the space of seventy yards, almost all traces were lost. Below, they are again apparent for about sixty yards, but towards the marsh they suddenly cease, and on the south side are nowhere to be recognized. The western line is better preserved, and about sixty yards of it are yet standing. At the southern extremity of this fragment stands the tower mentioned by Leland and Stukeley. It



External view of a tower on the western side.

is shown, in its present condition, in the preceding cut. It measures about ten feet in height and forty-five feet in circumference. The curtain-wall, indicated on the left of the cut, is now slightly separated from the tower, which has pressed inwards, and, by its own weight, has become detached. This has been made apparent by laying open the foundation, where the fracture at the base is clearly visible. In other instances the towers still remain as built, united to the curtain-wall, and corresponding with it in the courses of tiles, as well as in the layers of facing stones; in some the plaistering of the mortar at the angle remains quite perfect, together with the mark of the trowel. The subjoined engraving represents the base of the tower towards the eastern extremity of the northern wall recently excavated. Here the height is twenty-three feet, and the wall itself is about fourteen feet thick.



Eastern tower in the north wall.

From the tower on the western side, described above, the wall has fallen outwards to a distance of twelve yards from the inner line, appearing as a ridge, or external earth work, being almost

covered with herbage. The opposite wall, on the west, has also fallen outwards: in both cases all traces of the remains of the walls on their original sites were lost. The spade and pickaxe alone brought them once more to light, showing from three to six lines of the lowest facing stones, in their proper place, firm and undisturbed; while the enormous superstructure, entirely separated, forms the ridge just spoken of. The manner in which these walls have fallen outwards and become covered with soil, will be better comprehended from the annexed engraving, which repre-



Postern entrance on the west.



sents a postern gateway on the western side. Several of these narrow gateways have been discovered. They appear to have resembled those represented on the coins of the Constantine family, a specimen of which is here given for comparison.

It will be at once seen that no human agency could have thus overturned walls of such strength and extent. The cause is explained by the peculiar character of the ground. The long bank of the sand-stone hills, which, for several miles, faces the marshes (the site of the estuary), is, in the lower part of its slope, covered to a considerable depth with a clayey porous soil, through which, in some places, the rock shews itself. The understratum of this ground abounds in springs, some of which find ready egress,

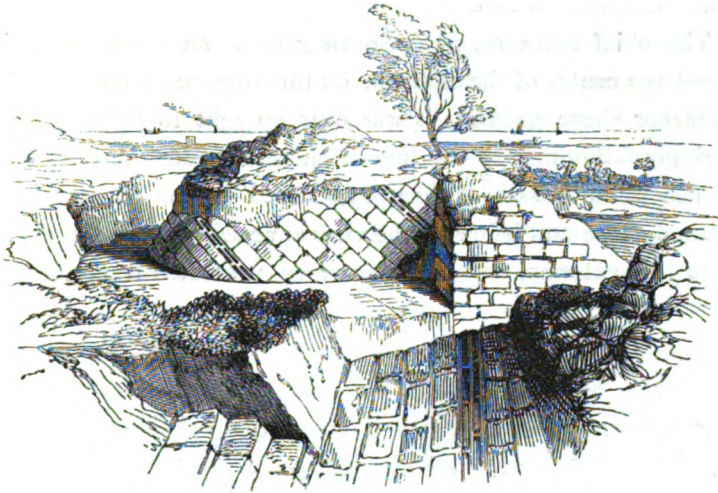
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but others, which lie deeper, vent themselves with greater difficulty. This extensive tract has thus been, and still is, subject to landslips. One of a very remarkable kind, not far to the west of the castrum, took place in 1728, and is recorded in the *Philosophical Transactions*.¹ A large piece of land sank, during one night, forty feet, and the movement was so gradual and imperceptible as not to disturb the inmates of a farm-house situate upon it, which remained firm and upright. A subsidence of a similar kind, at some unknown period, has doubtless been the main cause of the downfall of the castrum, and will explain satisfactorily what can, in no other way, be accounted for. The hand of man, through many centuries, has, as far as its puny efforts could effect, helped to complete the destructive operations of nature, by carrying off for building materials the most accessible portions of the superficial fragments, and particularly by denuding the walls of the facing stones.

The effect of the movement of this large tract of land would be to produce a result such as we contemplate, now that we have laid open the soil, as far as practicable, round the greater portion of the castrum. The immense weight of the walls and towers has influenced their fall, according to variations in the character of the soil: in one place they have broken and fallen in different directions; in another they have been, as it were, rooted up, so that what was once perpendicular is now perfectly flat; on the eastern side, in particular, the walls are, to use a homely expression, "doubled up", and in one spot they have sunk, in severed fragments, into an abyss. The view on the following page illustrates one of these peculiarities. In the foreground the external side of the wall is shown, as partly uncovered, lying horizontally, the wall

¹ Vol. xxxv, p. 551.

having fallen inwards; beyond is a tower, inclining in the same direction, while a fragment appears to have preserved its position, and to indicate, possibly, a narrow entrance. This tower measures



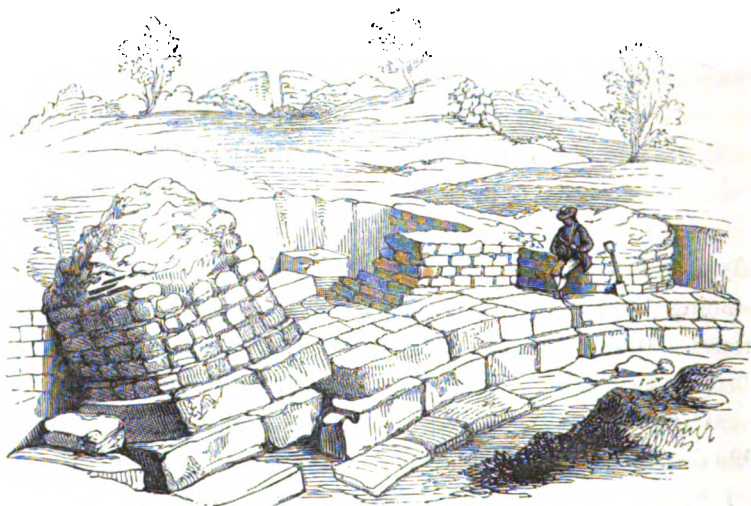
View on the eastern side.

fifty-five feet in circumference, and exhibits three courses of bonding tiles, between each of which are nine rows of facing-stones. Immediately below this tower the ground slopes rather abruptly to a hollow, where the line of wall was traced with the greatest difficulty, the workmen being compelled, for a considerable distance, to descend to the depth of ten feet.

I have before remarked, that several postern entrances are among the discoveries made by our excavations. They are from five to six feet in width, and were probably ten feet in height, and arched. The masonry of these entrances varies but slightly from that of the walls; the chief, if not the only point of variation,

being the introduction of large stones at the corners; the tiles are not introduced in larger number at the angles, as at Richborough, while in one in the eastern wall the bonding courses have only one tile instead of two.

The chief entrance, or *Decuman* gate, is on the eastern side, about the centre of the castrum. Of this there were no indications whatever above ground; it was only brought to light by perseveringly following out the line of the wall under the obstruction of dislocated masses of masonry, caused by the sinking of the ground above and below. The view annexed exhibits the appearance this gateway, on being uncovered, presented from the exte-



Decuman gate, eastern side.

rior. The lower tower is nearly in its original place, as is the curtain wall on its left, although the former has slightly fallen inwards and torn up the portion of the platform which it covered.

The base of the corresponding tower, on the right of the entrance, upon which the figure of a man is represented as seated, as well as the broken wall close to it, are out of position, having been thrust several feet downwards, thus partially closing up the gateway, and rendering, at first, the plan extremely ambiguous and confused. Extended excavations in the interior have, however, enabled us to detect the original arrangement, and to restore the ground-plan. The gateway was built, as that of Richborough (see page 40), upon a platform of several tiers of large hewn stones, but of greater extent; the superstructure, as will be perceived, is very different, there being at Richborough no signs of towers, the gateway having probably consisted of a large arch, with one or two of narrow compass for foot passengers. The entire platform, which extends inwards further than is shown in the above cut, has sunk in different directions, giving the foundations a curved inclination right and left. In its present condition it appears as if the gate had been approached by steps; but this appearance has, perhaps, been caused by the convulsion it has undergone, as the stones seem marked with the wheels of carriages, which could evidently not have entered by steps. The stones forming the platform and the sides of this gate are of large dimensions, varying from two to upwards of four feet in length, and from one foot to three in depth, some few being computed to weigh a ton each. Many of them have grooves which have been filled with lead and iron fastenings; and one, on which a wooden gate had turned, has a cavity at one of the angles, which was filled with a large mass of lead. It is to be noted, however, that many of the stones with grooves appear to have been used in some other building; and among the foundations have been found sculptured blocks,

which had probably belonged, at a period earlier than that of the date of the gateway, to the façade of some edifice. The more ponderous of these are provided with lewis holes, made precisely as those of the machine so called of the present day. It is a popular notion among engineers, that the machine called *Lewis* or *Lewis* was invented by Louis XIV of France, and that from him it takes its name. We find it was well known to the ancients, and was also in use in the middle ages ; and it is not likely that so useful an invention would have been forgotten.

It has hitherto been vain to attempt to trace the Roman road of the itinerary of Antoninus, in the broken ground of the immediate vicinity of the castrum. The discovery of this principal entrance facing the east, would lead us to look for it as branching from the direction of the present road leading from the Shipway to West Hythe.¹ Facing the entrance in the western wall, opposite to the Decuman gate, runs a straight ridge of land westward, which may

¹ The following extract from a letter I have received from Mr. Thurston of Ashford, who has professionally surveyed this part of the country, bears on the question : " The Stone Street leads direct from the castle at Canterbury to the parish of Lymne ; but in reaching New Inn Green, near Westenhanger, it appears to diverge to the west, to Stutfall Castle. It is remarkable, that if the straight line were continued from New Inn Green, it would point to the Shipway Cross, and continue down the present roadway which descends the hill to West Hythe. Now this is the only place along the hill where a roadway could possibly descend it in a straight line, and I believe was naturally selected as the road to the ships or port, and therefore called the Shipway. There is one remarkable peculiarity in the Stone Street road, namely, that it forms a boundary to almost every parish along its course, thus evincing its existence before these parishes were distinguished from each other ; and though, in some places, the more used and beaten track has taken another and nearly parallel course, the old line is still indicated by a narrow track, unmistakable from its perfect straightness in the true direction."

possibly be the line of the ancient road to the Ad Lemanum of Richard of Cirencester and to Anderida.

In comparing the castrum at Lymne with those of Richborough and Reculver, some architectural peculiarities will be noticed in the former. It is not, like those, built upon a foundation of pebbles, but, on the contrary, is constructed upon the surface of the ground, with a set-off course of facing-stones at the base, both in the interior and exterior. It is faced with squared stones, both inside and outside, and also with courses of tiles, which are continued round the towers, the rows of facing-stones between the layers of tiles being usually nine in number; in the western tower (page 247) they amount to twelve; in other places they are only eight. The tiles are of various kinds, and seem to have been applied in different parts of the building arbitrarily, or probably as supplies of particular sorts were at hand for immediate use. They vary in length from seven to seventeen inches. In the towers the shortest are used, as being better adapted for circular masonry. The curve-edged tiles abound in the western wall, where they are found placed one above the other, as well as interspersed with the flat tiles, and laid in various ways; the flat and curve-edged tiles are indicated in the cut on page 247, the latter inverted. In the eastern wall are some pale yellow or straw-coloured tiles: a variety of this kind, twelve inches square, contains an admixture of pounded red tiles. None of these are inscribed.

The internal mass of the walls and towers is composed chiefly of the hard, compact, stone of the neighbourhood, in rough pieces, as quarried; the facing-stones being uniformly of the same material. At Richborough and Reculver, where such stone was not at hand, other materials, as has been shown, were employed. The mortar

is composed of lime, sand, and pebbles, or sea-beach ; but the facing-stones throughout are cemented with a much finer mortar, in which pounded tile is introduced. The mortar, from its firm and cohesive character, forms one of the most striking features of Roman masonry, and furnishes a test for recognizing Roman buildings when other characteristics are wanting. This peculiarity is a result of the care bestowed on making the mortar, and the uniform system adopted in compounding it,—as we find in the directions given by Vitruvius, who tells us how to select the sand, and proportion it to the pounded tile and lime, and describes the manner in which the ingredients were mixed ; and however they may vary in relative quantities, the composition is almost always of impenetrable solidity. To the predominance of the lime over the sand, this characteristic of the Roman mortar is to be ascribed, while the reverse is to be noted in the Saxon, Norman, and English mortars, which renders them soft and friable, and easily to be distinguished from the Roman. The superiority of the Roman tiles over those of subsequent times is as remarkable as that of the mortar. Vitruvius lays down rules not only for the choice of clay, but also for properly tempering it ; and he directs that it should be dug and exposed to the air from two to five years before it be manufactured.

In the north-eastern fragment of the wall, which has preserved its perpendicular position, are some circular perforations, about three inches in diameter. They are plastered, and, in one instance at least, go entirely through the wall. It has been supposed they were designed to conduct water to the interior of the castrum, and the present course of a stream running close by perhaps favours that notion. It seems, however, much more satisfactory to con-

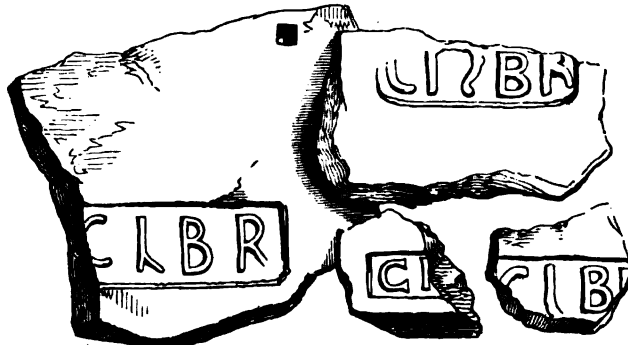
sider them merely as holes formed by sticks or poles used in building the wall; and the plaistering, the effect of the moist mortar settling round the wood. Similar perforations may be noticed in the walls of Old Verulam and of other places of Roman origin. In the castellum near Caernarvon, King¹ states, are three parallel lines of holes, not three inches in diameter, plastered within, which pass through the whole thickness of the wall, whilst there are also similar holes in the end of the wall, seeming to run through it lengthwise. He observes that they are too small for loopholes, and too numerous, and considers them as cavities left by the small stakes which braced the sides of temporary wooden frames. The stream of water alluded to probably altered its course when the great land-slip took place. In the north wall, almost close to the bottom, is an aperture about a foot square, and paved with tiles. It appears to have been a watercourse, and was probably the ancient channel of this stream.

The excavations hitherto made have been restricted to the line of the walls, with a view to restore the ground-plan, and to ascertain peculiarities of architecture, and the sites of towers and entrances. The area remains to be explored, if circumstances admit. Here we shall expect to find the vestiges of public buildings and monuments, and other objects calculated to throw light on the local history of the castrum and port, or on events in the general history of Britain; and this hope may be entertained with a surer prospect of realization, from the circumstance that the ground appears never to have been disturbed since the remote period of the catastrophe which overturned and buried the walls. A few objects have, however, been dug up during the progress of the works, which are worthy of being described. Among these are

¹ *Munimenta Antiqua*, vol. ii, p. 65.

inscriptions on fragments of tiles, four of which are here shewn. The uppermost is indistinct, but it appears to read *CLSB*; the more perfect of the others is *CLBR*, and the remainder are evidently the same.

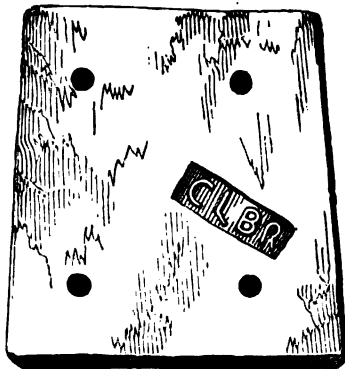
Such inscriptions usually refer to the legions, or their divisions, permanently established at the localities where they are found, and by which the tiles were made. At Caerleon, the headquarters, for a considerable time, of the second legion, tiles are found stamped *LEG. II. AVG.*, at Chester, where the twentieth legion was



Fragments of four inscribed tiles from Lymne.

quartered, the tile-mark is *LEG. XX. V. V.*; and at York, the sixth legion is similarly indicated. On the continent the locations of the legions and cohorts have been more fully identified, and their movements traced by their stamped tiles. The inscriptions found at Lymne do not admit, like those just mentioned, and many others, of unquestionable interpretation; nor are we assisted in offering an explanation of them by any historical information concerning the troops stationed here. It is clear they cannot refer to the body of the *Turnacenses* mentioned in the *Notitia*; and although the second legion, sometime at Richborough, was also termed *Britannica*, I am not aware of its being so named in any inscrip-

tion ; and a cohort is almost invariably, both on tiles and on stones, expressed by the letters COH. ; thus they cannot be satisfactorily attributed to a cohort of this or any other legion. A stamp of the same formula occurs on a tile from the foundation of a Roman building discovered, in 1778, at Dover¹ (see cut annexed), so that it may be inferred the manufacturers were either contemporaneously, or at different times, at both of these places. Had other inscriptions warranted it, I should more confidently suggest the probability of the CL.BR. meaning *Classiarii*, or *Classici*, *Britannici*, —British troops trained for sea warfare. As it is, the suggested explication of these abbreviated words may be entertained in connexion with maritime localities, such as the Portus Lemanis and Dubris. On a sepulchral monument preserved in the museum of Boulogne, the dedicator is styled TR.CL.BR., signifying either *Tribunus Classis Britannicæ*, or *Tribunus Classiariorum Britannicorum*.²



Tile from a Roman building at Dover.

¹ Archæologia, vol. v, p. 325.

² The inscription, here printed for the first time, of which the first part is fragmentary, is as follows .—

GRÆC.....
 TIAN . P . FIL . VI....
 AN . III . M . I . D . XVI .
 P . GRÆCIVS . TERTI
 NVS . PATER . TR . CL . BR .
 P.G.

The *Notitia* mentions a tribune of the first cohort of the *Aelia Classica* stationed at *Tunnocelum*, which Horseley considers to have been on the site of Bowness ; Hodgson, Tynemouth ; and among the cohorts on service in Britain in the time

The analogy between the last two words and those upon the Lymne tiles, will be obvious ; but at the same time, a more complete inscription, to decide the true meaning of the latter, is desirable.

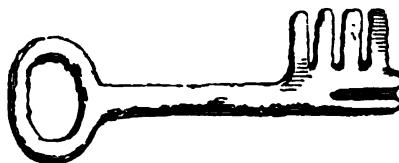
Upwards of seventy coins have been dug up on the line of the foundations of the walls. With a single exception they are of a late period. Calling for no particular remarks with respect to rarity of reverse, and being such as might have been looked for in breaking ground in such an auspicious spot, a numerical list is all that, for present purposes, is requisite. With the exception of the coin of Pius, which is in first brass, and a denarius of Valens, they are all of the third or small brass.

| | Specimens | | Specimens |
|-------------------|-----------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Antoninus Pius | - - - 1 | Carausius | - - - 11 |
| Gallienus | - - - 1 | Allectus | - - - 2 |
| Victorinus | - - - 2 | Licinius | - - - 1 |
| The Tetrici | - - - 7 | The Constantine family | - 37 |
| Claudius Gothicus | - - - 6 | Valens | - - - 1 |
| Probus | - - - 1 | Gratian | - - - 1 |
| Maximian | - - - 1 | Total | - 73 ¹ |

Towards the lower end of the eastern wall in the interior, was also dug up a penny of Eadgar: *obv.*, ✠EADGAR . REX . ANGL.; *rev.*, ✠BVRHSTAN . MO . HT., which is worthy of note, particularly in connection with two iron prick spurs (one of which is figured below),



Spur; length, 4 inches.



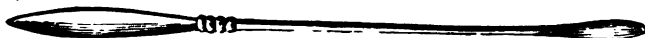
Key; length, 4½ inches.

of Trajan (as appears by the rescript found at Sydenham), was the *Coh. Classiana* C.N.

¹ With the exception of a gold coin of Valentinian, no record is to be found of any coins, or, indeed, of antiquities discovered at or near the castrum.

as countenancing the opinion that these castra were, at least in part, occupied for a considerable time after their abandonment by the Romans. To the Saxon, or to the Norman period, the iron key may also be probably referred.

The objects of Roman manufacture hitherto found, may be dismissed in a few words. They consist chiefly of fragments of pottery of various kinds,—one only bearing a maker's stamp, PAVLIH; broken querns in Andernach lava and in native granite; a cusp of a spear in bronze; a bow-shaped fibula; and a bracelet,



Bronze ligula; half original size.

also in bronze; a ligula in the same metal; and a large circular piece of bituminous schale, commonly known as "Kimmeridge coal," perforated and polished. To this scanty catalogue of the objects of ancient art, may be added two carpenters' chisels in iron, precisely like those in use at the present day; one of which is shewn in the annexed cut; and misshapen pieces of oxidized iron, which, from



Length, 10 inches.

the situations in which they were found, had probably formed fastenings to gates. Iron nails were also found in abundance, many of which are remarkable for their size and length.

The word Stutfall, Studfall, or Stadfall, seems to signify, as Baxter observes,¹ a fallen place. There is a Studfall or Studforth at Aldborough and at Ambleforth, in Yorkshire,—both ancient circular earthworks; "a locality in Northamptonshire, forming, at the time of the compilation of Domesday Book, a

¹ *Glos. Antiq. Brit. in Lemanis.*

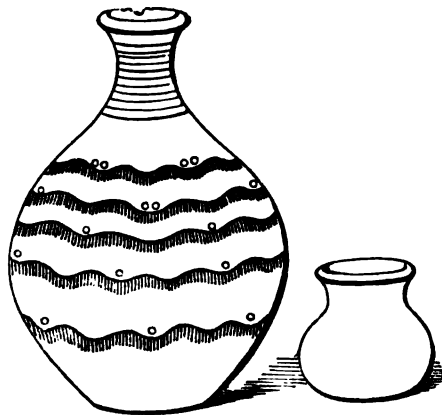
hundred called Stodfald and Stotfald, the most precipitous portion of the western, and facing the north of the hundred of Rowell, and marking the boundary of Northampton from Leicestershire. The character of the ground is similar in appearance, when viewed from the north, to the locality of Lymne and Stutfall Castle. Here it would seem to designate a broken descent of land; and again, in Studland Bay, the sea filling up a space of ground similar to what it must have done at Lymne, and the cliff or high ground forming the boundary."¹ We have no record to assist us in determining when the great landslip took place. The coins of Eadgar, and the spears found at a considerable depth, seem to suggest that the locality, if not permanently tenanted, was resorted to so late as the tenth century. Mr. Thurston, who has just surveyed and planned the ruins, thinks that the slip may have taken place before the Conquest, since Lanfranc built the upper castle and church with the facing-stones of the Roman fortress. He remarks, that the portions covered by the soil preserve their facing-stones, which they would not have done had they remained above ground, in the original position, when the walls were placed under contribution by Lanfranc. This remark particularly applies to the fallen wall on the eastern side, indicated in the cut in page 251, and also to the large and valuable stones forming the platform of the Decuman gate, which could only have escaped the hands of the spoilers from being covered and concealed by the ground.

Roman remains are not authenticated as having been frequently found in the vicinity of the castrum. The site of the Roman

¹ Extract of a letter from Mr. E. Pretty of Northampton.

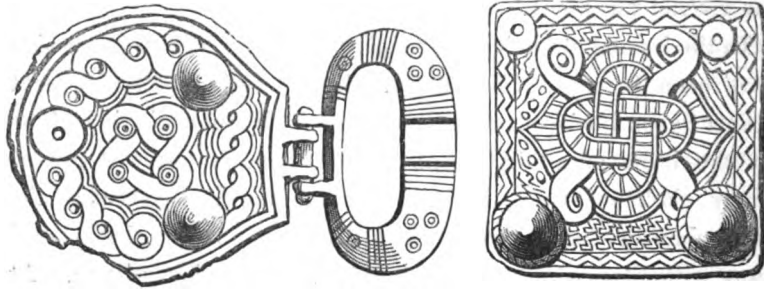
burial-place has never yet been discovered, and it is quite impossible to say on which side it may be situated. In digging some deep drains in Mr. Burch's field at Court-at-Street, great quantities of broken Roman tiles were found; among them were some perfect specimens, fifteen inches square, and one flue-tile. They indicated the site of a Roman building; but no examination of the ground was made.¹

In the immediate neighbourhood of the castrum, Saxon remains have been frequently discovered. In the spring of the present year a Saxon burial-place was cut through by men digging stone on the brow of a hill on Marwood Farm, at Court-at-Street. Many skeletons were dug up, but no one had recorded the particulars of the discovery, which, like many others, has passed away without producing any benefit to antiquarian science. At the quarry on the edge of the hill at Bellevue, many years since, Saxon interments were brought to light. They consisted of the remains of skeletons, spear-heads, a short sword fifteen inches in length, and an umbo of a shield, in iron; a glass vessel, an earthen vase, and ornaments. The vase and glass cup are shown on the annexed cut. The former, in dark clay, is 8½ inches in height, and is marked with an indented, wavy pattern; the latter is



¹ Communicated by the Rev. Beale Poste.

2½ inches high, and is of a thickish green-coloured glass. The ornaments have belonged to belts; they are in bronze, and are here shewn,—that on the right having been gilt. These interesting objects may be referred to the sixth or seventh century.¹ The ornaments, in pattern and workmanship, closely resemble those found a few years since in the graves at Bel-Air, near



Cheseaux-sur-Lausanne, in Switzerland.² The Rev. Beale Poste informs me, that “a mile to the westward of the castrum, in the fields called Willis’ Fields, on a farm named Bellevue, are several intrenchments and high banks, towards the sea. The farm of Cold Harbour lies three-quarters of a mile N.N.W. of this locality; and Belerica, or Court-at-Street, a mile N.N.W., where are remains of a castle.” Leland may be further quoted for information on this subject: “Billirica is abowte a myle fro Lymme Hille, and at this day is a membre of Lymme parochie. Howbeyt ther is a chaple for the howses ther that now remayne, and this is the chaple comunely cawld *Our Lady of Court-up-Streate*, wher the nunne of Cantorbiry wrought al her fals miracles. Hard by this chaple apere the old ruines of a castelet, whereby it may

¹ They are in the possession of Mr. W. Hills, curator of the Chichester Museum.

² Published by the Society of Antiquaries of Zurich, 1841.

be thowthe that the place and the towne ther was cawled *Bellirica*, as who should say yn latyne *Bellocastrum*, and that the new name of Court-up-Streate began by reason of the place or court that the lord of the soyle kept there. The commune voyce is ther, that the town hath been large, and they shoe now theyr *signa prætoriana*, that is to say a horne garnished with brasse, and a mace. But the likelyhod ys that they longed to Lymme, sumtyme a notable town and haven."¹

From this short digression, I return to the castrum to describe a plan of the walls, which Mr. Thurston has very kindly prepared expressly for our volume.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLAN OF THE CASTRUM.

A. The farm-house, of which a view is given in the plate, page 283.

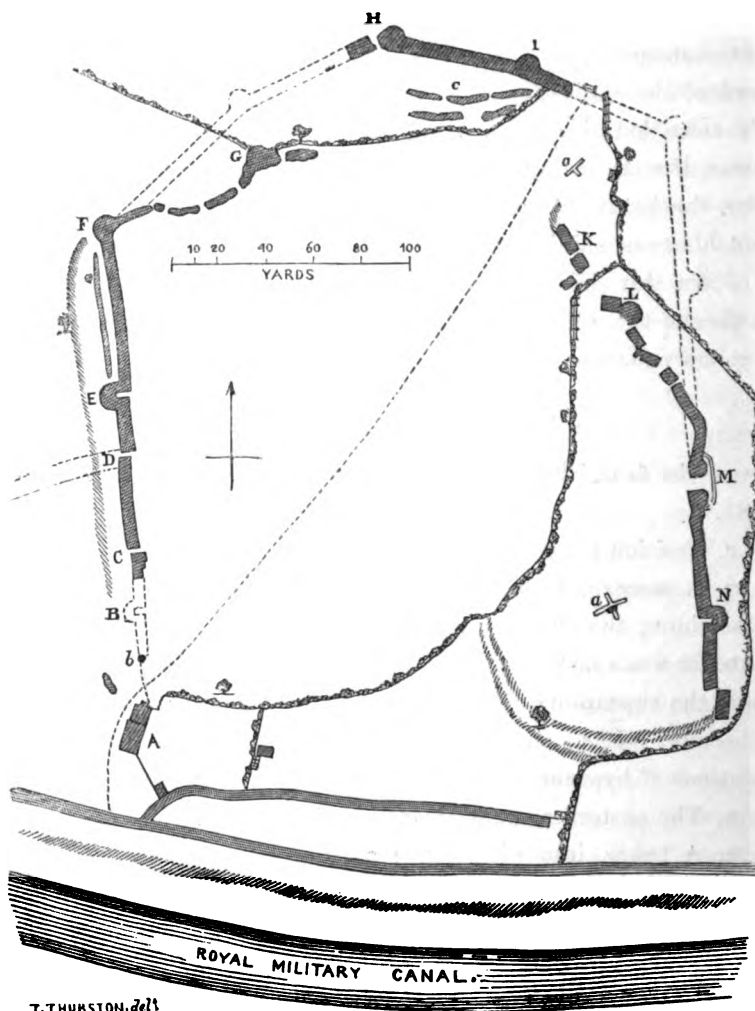
B. Position of a tower and passage.

C. A passage, fifteen feet in width, faced, and in all respects resembling the other postern entrances, except, that towards the exterior was a large mass of broken tile, charcoal, and earth, which bore the appearance of having been subjected to fire; some of the tiles were placed one upon another, as though they had formed portions of hypocaust pillars.

D. The postern entrance shewn in the cut on page 249.

E. A tower, into which runs a passage, five feet in width, of rather remarkable construction. It is arched, and appears to have formed a small room, probably for the *vigiles* or sentinels. The ceiling of this apartment was covered with planks of wood laid across, the marks of which are clearly to be seen by the mortar,

¹ Hearne's Leland, vol. vii.



PLAN OF THE CASTRUM AT LYMNE.

which appears in broad strips, indicating the regular arrangement of the planks. The extent of this room has not been yet ascertained, owing to the great difficulty of working beneath the fallen tower.

r. The tower engraved on page 247. As stated in the description, it has fallen forwards, towards the interior; and thus, at first view, it appears to have been perfectly circular, while, in point of fact, it was originally like the others.

g. A tower, fallen outwards. Here there is an accumulation of earth, above the base of the tower and wall, from eight to ten feet.

h and i. Towers in their original position. i, the tower shewn on page 248. The wall to the left of h, and that to the right of i, terminate abruptly. From this line, it is conjectured, the entire lower part of the castrum was separated by the landslip.

k. Wall, with circular perforations, described on page 256.

l. Wall and tower, shewn and described on page 251.

m. Decuman gate. See page 252.

n. Tower, and entrance five feet in width.

aa. Indications of buildings; b. a well; c. the wall fallen inwards, and again separated by the fall.

Such is the new information, which, up to the present moment, I am enabled to communicate with respect to the discoveries at Lymne; but I confidently hope that, within a short period, the excavations now carrying on there, if sufficiently encouraged by the public, will make us more fully acquainted with one of the largest and most interesting stations of the Romans in this island, and will probably throw an entirely new light on the public and domestic condition and habits of the Romano-British population.

I cannot conclude without expressing my opinion of the obligations under which historical science lays to the liberality of those by whose permission the researches just alluded to have been carried on : they are, the Rev. Edwin Biron, the Rector of Lymne : Thomas Mount, Esq., of Saltwood ; and Mr. Post, of Stutfall.

THE END.

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Errata.

- Page 7. For "Valentian", read "Valentinian".
- 207. For "Eunodius", read "Ennodius".

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